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10 May 1985

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AFGHANISTAN

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES ASSISTING FARMERS

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 3 Mar 85 pp 2, 7

[Text] In order to improve the work quality of agricultural cooperatives the Agricultural Cooperatives Development Directorate has organized and carried out the following activities during 9 months of the current year.

In the organizational sector: Founding and stabilizing 36 primary agricultural cooperatives with a capital of 1,300,000 afghanis, preparation of 7,700 hectares of first quality land for cultivation and attracting 2,400 new members in 14 provinces. Activating 32 inactive cooperatives in 11 provinces. Attracting and incorporating 1,100 new members to agricultural cooperatives. Attracting and incorporating 1,127 agricultural cooperative members into the PDPA and the National Fatherland Front, attracting 638 persons in Revolution Defense Groups and 245 persons in resistance groups and organizing home economics courses for 40 women in the Bagrami district.

In order to intensify the work in implementing the program of land and water reform, a protocol of reciprocal cooperation between the Cooperative Development Directorate and the Land Reform Organization and Distribution Directorate was concluded. For further intensification and implementation, cooperative officials participated in operational groups.

In order to establish and develop model cooperatives and to carry out joint utilization of land, machinery and state credits in the provinces of Kabul and Jowzjan, the Agricultural Cooperatives Development Directorate has carried out the following activities: construction of an agricultural cooperative in Qal'ah Ahmadkhan in Bagram, with a capital of 1,000,000 afghanis. In order to begin construction work on model cooperatives, the amount of 1,000,000 afghanis from the government's development budget was allocated to the village of Kamari in the Bagram district. Its foundation has been built and work on it is progressing rapidly.

Jowzjan Province

--The construction of infrastructural facilities for the Martyr Zekrollah cooperative with a cost of 1,000,000 afghanis from the development budget on an area of 6,581 acres for joint utilization is taking place. Furthermore the cooperatives mentioned below are also being jointly utilized.

--The 'Aid Mahallah on an area of 250 acres, the Yekah Bagh on 720 acres and the Qanjughah cooperative on 500 acres of land.

--Holding a workshop at the Directorate's center for representatives from agricultural cooperatives exporting raisins and preparing specific proposals to improve the raisin export situation.

--The provision and distribution of 83,000,000 afghanis in production loans for chemical fertilizers, improved grain seeds, herbicides, machinery and collecting more than 6,000,000 afghanis from the loans previously made available to cooperative members.

--Supplying and exporting 5,000 tons of melon, 350 tons of raisins, 19,865 tons of fresh grapes, 160 tons of wool, 1,100 tons of pomegranates. Furthermore, 32,000 pieces of karakul hide were exported and also 32,630 tons of surplus crops were sold in the country's markets.

--The sale of 645 tons of chemical fertilizer through agricultural cooperative work commission stores.

--The distribution of 2,823 tons of chemical fertilizer and wheat to agricultural cooperative members on cash basis in order to conclude contracts and export 700 tons of raisins, 200 tons of walnuts, 50 tons of wool and 500 tons of sweetroots. The surplus produce of agricultural cooperative members was sent to the Ministry of Commerce.

Concluding a contract with the Soviet Union's mission to import 100 tons of oil, 100 tons of soap, and 18,000 pairs of shoes. Providing facilities to import 14,000 chickens and distribute 10,000 chickens through the cooperatives to the residents of Kabul, and keeping 4,000 of them in cold storage.

The distribution and supply of 308 tons of cotton seeds, 1,612 tons of sesame oil cake, 1,502 tons of pelts, 7.75 tons of oil, and 7,798 bars of soap to agricultural cooperative members.

In the cooperatives educational institute sector, 554 cooperative members were trained in 13 cooperative courses and workshops, and some instructors from the Agricultural Education Institute were dispatched to the provinces of Helmand, Parvan, Balkh, Jowzjan and Kabul in order to hold courses for boards of directors and supervisors. Also 250 educational sessions at agricultural cooperatives and 23 courses for boards of directors were held.

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CSO: 4665/62

AFGHANISTAN

HELMAND SCHOOLS RECEIVE AID

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 4 Mar 85 p 4

[Text] A total of 9,230 students are busy learning in six high schools and 19 elementary schools in Helmand Province. Two high schools and four elementary schools are active in Lashkargah, the capital of Helmand Province, and the remainder are in other districts of the province.

A source from the Provincial Public Education Directorate said: The students are being taught by 310 teachers, of whom 103 are women. In Helmand Province the instructional affairs of two vocational schools are guided by the Ministry of Higher Education. One of those is a mechanical high school in the Garshak district and the other is an agricultural high school active in the city of Lashkargah. These two schools accept eighth grade graduates.

In order to advance instructional matters in an organized fashion in Helmand Province's high schools and elementary schools, 570 desks and chairs and 42,000 textbooks have been supplied in the current year, and the textbooks have been made available to the students. Furthermore, the productive and administrative institutions of Helmand Province have given more than 3,000,000 afghanis for construction and repair work on its schools on the basis of a popular program. As a result, 10 schools have been repaired and have resumed activity.

In many of the schools of the province there are pedagogic councils which give assistance in eliminating instructional problems. In addition, some difficulties are settled through contacts with the parents of students.

It should be noted that the program of new instructional principles is being followed through the sixth grade and evaluations have shown good results. In accordance with the educational plan, in the new school year more students who are educationally qualified will be absorbed in the schools. In this regard the necessary help and guidance will be made available to the children's parents.

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AFGHANISTAN

NANGARHAR CANNING EXPANDING

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 3 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] Recently, within the framework of the Nangarhar Valley development project a new olive canning factory was completed and began production with the economic and technical assistance of the Soviet Union.

In this regard the head of the Nangarhar Valley development said: The design, construction, technical and economic planning procedures of the new olive canning factory were completed by the Soviet Union's Mokavikar Espuram in 1975. The construction work began in July 1978 and it was completed in January 1985 and put into operation to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the PDPA founding. This factory is located three kilometers south of Jalalabad, and covers an area of 7.5 hectares of land. It was built at a total cost of 559.6 million afghanis from the government's development budget.

Concerning the advantages and capacity of the plant, he said: The plant's productive capacity is 8,000 tons of olives, of which 6,634 tons are canned and the remainder produced as olive oil. From this about 291,700,000 afghanis of income are realized annually. According to preliminary calculations, the plant's production will bring in annually more than 54,000,000 afghanis in net profit. On this basis, the cost of completing the plant will be paid back after 35 years. The speaker added: The new olive canning factory, which has put to work more than 730 of our citizens, produces in a normal fashion 9 months out of the year. Metal cans for olive oil are also made in the factory. Additionally, 15 types of vegetables are canned in this factory and supplied to the market.

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10 May 1985

AFGHANISTAN

OVER 400 VILLAGE COUNCILS CREATED

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 2 Mar 85 p 2

[Text] The extensive and complete participation of the farmers in the process of land and water reform, which comprises the center of gravity of our national and democratic revolution, is necessary for democratization of the life of the country's villages and the sound realization of this project. The future development of the revolution and the final victory of our revolution depends on the country's farmers, who are the most numerous and vast participatory force in the country's revolutionary transformations, and it depends on how they are attracted towards the revolution, how they are treated, how they are mobilized and organized and how they rise up in a broader and more organized way to defend the achievements of the victorious revolution in order to build a new society devoid of any exploitation or class oppression, to provide a prosperous and peaceful life for all the toilers including the farmers and to liberate them from oppression and feudal exploitation. One of the basic and extremely important matters for the movement of the country's farmers and the organization of the farmers' active participation in implementing land and water reforms and their active share in the administration of affairs, which has been included in the amendment to Order No 8, is the formation of village farmers councils.

The village farmers councils are created as the supreme institution for the farmers' participation in the country's revolutionary transformations and the democratization of the life of the villages, aimed at solving problems and quarrels among the villagers, studying problems and finding solutions, and settling issues that arise among the farmers in the course of implementing land and water reform or in the use of water among its sharing partners. They are created in accordance with the customs and the spirit of the local people in the light of the country's revolutionary guidance and laws. For this reason, at the beginning of the second stage of land reform, parallel with the distribution of land and property deeds to landless farmers and farmers with small and medium-size plots, serious attention was given to the formation of village farmers councils. Thus, so far, more than 418 village farmers councils have been created throughout the nation, and this is playing an important role in the intensification of the process of implementing land and water reform. Experience makes it clear that farmers who are working the land are better and more informed about the state of land ownership. For this reason the farmer komitehs and councils consisting of representatives of farmers without land,

those with small holdings, and those with moderate holdings, under the leadership and control of party and government organs must be formed in an extensive manner, in order to encourage the participation of farmers in the fundamental and beneficial transformations which are taking place in the country's villages.

We must learn from the past that in the villages matters should not be dictated from above. The farmers must state their own needs and they must have confidence in the party and the government.

Complete illiteracy, backwardness, and total dependency on old traditions and customs can put the country's farmers under the influence of counterrevolutionary propaganda. The country's farmers must be helped in order to correctly understand and distinguish their own interests, to understand the policy of the party and the government and to be attracted towards the revolutionary government. This assistance is best feasible by organizing the farmers into cooperatives and creating village farmers councils and farmer komitehs.

The village farmers councils can achieve notable successes by utilizing scientific training in the organization of numerous and valuable activities, in the advancement of the great organizational work in order to organize the villagers and to propagandize among them, to mobilize and awaken them and strengthen their ties with the country's revolutionary authority. The village farmers councils can eliminate the farmers complete illiteracy, expose the ugly face and the essence of the desperate struggles of the counterrevolution, enlighten the farmers' minds concerning the party and government's actions and give them a political understanding.

Raising the level of the political consciousness of the farming masses has been the driving force in the organization and mobilization of the farmers to struggle against reaction and imperialism, and it has a significant effect in ensuring the active participation of the farming masses in achieving democratic transformations.

When the farmers become organized in the village farmers councils, they became transformed into a powerful force standing against the counterrevolution, and the barbaric counterrevolution will lose its last bases in the most remote villages.

There are many examples at hand where the farmers have become organized, the process of land reform has gone forward more quickly and the farmers have seen with their own eyes and have felt with their own hands the positive changes that have appeared in their lives. The counterrevolution, the servants of reactionaries and imperialism, don't even dare to look back at such places.

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INDIA

YOUTH CONGRESS TERMED RAJIV GANDHI'S SECRET ARMY

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 19 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Kumar Anand: "Rajiv Gandhi's Secret Army"]

[Text] Rajiv Gandhi's management-style politics, aided by computers, has utilized development, cadre and investigation in a unique fashion. Two successful experiments of this program have been seen in the recent Lok Sabha [lower house of parliament] and legislative assembly elections. The first phase of this program, which has been in effect for two years, will be completed by 1986 with an expenditure exceeding 30 million rupees. Upon its successful completion, Congress (I), or "Inca" will have the maximum young, trained workers and their numbers will probably exceed those of the police. By means of these workers, who work for half pay, the top leaders of the party will be in direct contact with the common voters. Not only that, it will eliminate the necessity of relying on the government's intelligence machinery to discern the thoughts of our leaders, workers and the electorate.

This is precisely what happened in the recent elections. The hundreds of parliament members [M.P.] and members of the legislative assembly [M.L.A.] deprived of the Congress (I) ticket were the victims of this program. On the basis of the reports of these 'investigators', analytical reports were prepared on M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s with columns for character, style and winning indicators. These very people also prepared analytical reports on some of the states. Their reports, together with the reports of the state election committees were presented at a meeting of the Parliamentary group. That is why several hundred current M.L.A.'s were unable to obtain a ticket even though they had been recommended by the election committees of their state.

This experiment of the Inca is being run from 5, Raisina Road in New Delhi, a single-storied, white building owned by Congress. Policy formulations and analyses of the results take place at 2A, Motilal Nehru Marg. The institutional name of this program is: 'Indian Youth Congress Development Center'. In other words, it is a cell or unit of Youth Congress (I). People call the resulting mix of development, cadre, politics and investigation as 'Rajiv's spies', but the appointees call themselves coordinators, organizers and village workers. Rajiv Gandhi has appointed his trusted friend Deba Prasad Rai, the 35-year old member of the Rajya Sabha [upper

house of parliament] as the Center's head. He is also the national secretary-general of Youth Congress (I).

But if one were to call the appointees of the Development Center 'Rajiv's spies', they would be infuriated. Their rejoinder is - "This is nonsense. We do development-related work in the villages. By participating in the implementation of the 20-point program, we are laying the grassroots, rural foundation of our party. We are cementing the politics of our country through service and organization."

This counter-argument of theirs is hard to swallow even for members of Inca. That is why the workers recruited by the Center, alias 'Rajiv's spies', have been involved in several untoward incidents of assault and insult with Inca leaders and ministers. The fact of the matter is that those who clashed with these 'spies' have now been ousted from power, either due to their influence or some coincidence. But this has definitely boosted their courage. In Patna, coordinator Satya Dev Katore was beaten up by Chandrashekhar Singh's (then chief minister) secretary. In Rajasthan, three ministers who clashed with coordinators lost their seats in the legislative assembly elections and are now jobless. In Pali, Dinesh Rai Dangi's had a fight with coordinators Tafazzul Ali Hasni and Dhananjay Bhatt; in Sawai Madhopur, Chetram Mirna exchanged insults and blows with coordinator Jagdish Saini. Another coordinator, Khet Singh Rathor, were subjected to beatings or insults by Anand Prakash Sharma. In Madhya Pradesh, minister K.P. Singh clashed with coordinator Vijeshwar Singh. Now K.P. Singh is not even an M.L.A., leave alone a minister.

On getting acquainted with the activities of the 'Development Center', the reason for such suspicions and possibilities becomes apparent. The fabric of the organization has been woven with great dexterity. The selection of young people, as 'Rajiv's spies', is done after rigorous scrutiny. Then they are trained in various spheres by experts in the field. The present monthly expenditure of the Center is approximately 500,000 rupees. As of now, approximately 125,000 workers have been recruited. Their ages range between 20 and 35 years. They are given designations of youth coordinator, youth organizer, and village youth worker. Their aim is to recruit 263,474 workers in this three-tier organization by the year 1986. In accordance with the forthcoming phases of this plan, the activities of the Development Center will take effect in every village in the country.

Under this plan, two coordinators, 30 inspirators and 200 village workers will be appointed for each district. As of now, work has begun in over 200 districts.

The Development Center's most important link is with the coordinator. The state chairmen of Youth Congress are asked to propose the names of those young people who are steadfast Inca loyalists. Preference is given to the poor, disadvantaged, minorities and the progeny of those who took part in India's freedom struggle. They should be between the ages of 21 and 35 and have a college degree.

The names proposed by the [Youth Congress] state chairmen are subject to an inquiry. Perhaps assistance is also sought from the government's intelligence sources. Then an interview is held. After this, training camps are set up in New Delhi. The first such session took place on February 21, 1983, at Talkatora Stadium. Rajiv Gandhi presided over the inauguration and closing ceremony of the 45-day session. The late Prime Minister and Inca head Indira Gandhi was also at the session. Among those present to impart the training were Muhammad Fazzal - Chairman of the Planning Commission, Ramniwas Mirdha, Shankar Dayal Sharma, Bhagwat Jha Azad, Harinath Misra, Dharmavir, Prof Vishambharnath Pande and Dr. R.P. Kaushik. For such training camps have already been held.

The coordinators are trained in the following areas: a history of Congress and its ideology, various political parties and their ideologies, major challenges in the course of the nation's development, regionalism, economic policies, the role of banks in the development of village sectors, rural development, the bureaucracy, inefficiency in administration, essential qualities required by the administrators, development administration and the bureaucracy, the domain of the collector, an awareness of what is happening, human development, analytical skills, etc. For purposes of the training there are educational programs and published textbooks.

The organizers come under the supervision of the coordinators, and the village workers are under the control of the organizers. The selection of organizers within a district and of village workers within a block takes place through a process of consultation with Youth Congress. The organizers are trained in the state capitals and the village workers are trained at the district level. The organizers should be between the ages of 20 and 30 and be at least high-school graduates. The village workers should be between the ages of 20 and 25 and should have completed a middle-school education. The selection of the organizers is done by the coordinators, the village workers are selected by the organizers and coordinators.

On completion of their training, the coordinators are sent to the districts. They are not sent to their home-states. They are given 500 rupees a month. Reservations are made for them in the circuit houses under the names of Inca M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s and their other needs are also taken care of by the Inca M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s and other members of the Inca organization.

In the first month the youth coordinators establish contact with the people of their designated districts. At the same time 30 organizers are recruited. The coordinators set up a training camp to instruct them in the fundamental issues. In the second month, the organizers are divided into two groups. In other words, each of the two appointed coordinators in the district have 15 organizers in their care. With the help of the organizers the district is divided into four important sectors (clusters). From each cluster 50 village workers are selected. Only then does the actual work commence.

The work of these appointees of the Development Center can be likened to the teeth of an elephant: some are visible and some are not. On the surface they work towards the 20-point program with the assistance of the government

administration in all the districts. Bank loan-application forms are filled out. Then with the help of the state ministers, leaders and officers these loans are distributed. The people receiving the loans are told that they have been sent by Rajiv Gandhi in order that their sufferings may be alleviated. They are also told that Rajiv himself (and earlier Indira) was personally responsible for making funds available for the development projects in progress. The facilities meted out to the villagers under the authority of the governmental agencies are explained in similar terms so that, as a result of these 'favors', they may realize where their 'support' should lie. Rajiv Gandhi's interest in this program is well-known to members of Inca; even the shrewd people of his administration realize it. That is why, for the most part, the coordinators receive the help they seek. This 'constructive espionage' has to some extent been beneficial.

In conjunction with development-related tasks, the coordinators also promulgate the party's political views. For their role as political propagandists, they receive training in the camps on the views of Inca and on criticisms aimed at the opposition parties.

From time to time, the Development Center sends them notices and directives in Hindi and in English. The Center also publishes a newsletter every two months which extols Rajiv Gandhi and describes the Center's activities. The English newsletter is called 'Development', and the Hindi newsletter is published under the name of 'Yuva Samanvai' ['Youth Coordination']. Through these current events the youth coordinators are made well aware of the Party's strategies. For this purpose, refresher courses are also held.

If assistance is not received at the administrative level, then before dealing with the officers themselves, the problem is resolved at the political level. If the officer does not give in to political pressure, a dharna [sit-in] or even demonstrations are staged. It is of significance that a knowledge of weaknesses of bureaucrats and how to deal with them and is imparted to them at the training camps. Experienced, retired officers of varied backgrounds impart this training.

Once a month every coordinator sends a report to 5, Raisina Road and to 21, Janpath. The report is also sent to 21, Janpath as the 'Development Center' has been made a unit of Youth Inca. But this unit exercises somewhat greater freedom. This independence serves to threaten the basic unity of the organization. Needless to say, this report is strictly confidential.

Mention is made in the report on their work, enforcement of the 20-point program in their district, the day-to-day work of the district's M.P.'s, M.L.A.'s and ministers, names, etc. of officers and Inca members who withhold support, the public's reaction to recent incidents, and people's attitude toward Inca, etc. The information contained in these reports is in itself referred to as 'investigative'.

These secret reports are serialized with the aid of computers at 5, Raisina Road. Then they are dispatched to 2, Motilal Nehru Road where results are

analyzed with the aid of more powerful computers. There an attempt is made to fathom the political repercussions of the information. Then the report is sent to Rajiv Gandhi with annotations. A summit conference is also held as a vehicle for discussion. Quite often the appointees of the Development Center are asked to conduct a survey. At the time of distributing the cyclostyled forms for purposes of the survey, the confidentiality of the information is impressed upon them.

If reports of inadequacies regarding the 20-point program are received, all those who are responsible--the state government, ministers, M.L.A.'s, M.P.'s and officers--are taken to task through the channels. The coordinators are aware of this consequence of their secret reports. That is why they sometimes get snubbed in their attempts to deal high-handedly with their superiors. This is exactly what occurred in Patna. If the high-up people are put to shame in front of their superiors, they also take out their frustrations [on the coordinators]. But no matter who is at fault, the coordinator has the upper hand. When Rajiv Gandhi visited Patna, he reprimanded the then Chief Minister (now ex-Chief Minister) Chandrashekhar Singh for the 'secretary versus coordinator assault scandal'.

The services of the appointees of the Development Center were not merely utilized for weeding out candidates in the recent elections. A few were selected to contest the elections in order that their political aspirations be realized and their political ambitions be spurred on. To begin with, they participated in elections for the Panchayat [Village Assembly] and cooperative institutions in Madhya Pradesh. There they were also quite successful. Then for the Lok Sabha elections the following candidates selected by the Center contested for seats: Shashikant Misra (Gopalganj - Bihar), Sagar Raika (Mehsana - Gujrat), K.P. Rawat (Barabanki - Uttar Pradesh) and Murlidhar Mane (Amravati - Maharashtra). The former two candidates lost, the latter two won.

In the recent legislative assembly elections, 21 tickets were issued to members of the Development Center: five in Uttar Pradesh, four each in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, three each in Gujrat and Andhra Pradesh, and one each in Maharashtra and Bihar. Of these, 17 won the elections. In Delhi Dr. Kaushik, who won the by-election of the Mahanagar ['Metropolitan'] council, is also an appointee of the Center.

The Center representatives also played an active role in various constituencies during the election campaign. During the elections, Deba Prasad Rai - the Center's head - sent cyclostyled letters to over a 100,000 workers affiliated to the Center, explaining their role in their respective constituencies and sectors.

The participants in the upper echelons of the Development Center are fairly well-educated. They compile the notices received from the various states and hand them to the Center's head. For instance, Manoj Joshi, a management graduate, served previously as a coordinator in Amethi; it was he who 'managed' Rajiv Gandhi's constituency. These days, in addition to being the editor of the Center's Hindi newsletter 'Yuva Samanvai', he is one of D.P. Rai's closest associates.

There are various kinds of uncertainties regarding this ambitious plan of Rajiv Gandhi. At present, the first phase of this plan is about half complete. The present monthly expenditure for this is 500,000 rupees which would increase to one million rupees by the end of 1985. If until then Inca remains in power, it will be able to meet the expenditure. But what if the opposition comes to power?

The youth coordinators are given 500 rupees a month. Through loans under the 20-point program, a means of livelihood is sought for the organizers. The coordinators are the backbone of this program. In this age of unemployment, to find work for even 500 rupees a month is no small matter. Many coordinators stay on here merely for the sake of a salary, thus the 'missionary sense' required for the organization is absent. A sum of 500 rupees a month in return for spying for Inca is like leaving a starving man alone in a confectionery shop.

This program has been applied in its best form in Northern India where Inca has state governments. Right now, coordinators have been appointed to 156 districts in the north, 63 districts in the north-east and 38 districts in the south. It is said that some coordinators were even arrested in Tripura (a Marxist state government). In states where the opposition party is in power, loans for the 20-point program can be obtained from nationalized banks, but the administrative machinery cannot be counted on to cooperate.

Several sources are quoted as saying that consultations pertaining to the existing state of affairs have been held at the highest level on many occasions.

12398

CSO: 4624/12

INDIA

NEED TO REVISE QUOTA SYSTEM FOR BACKWARD CLASSES STRESSED

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 2 Mar 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Reassess the Issue"]

[Text] Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi commented in Hyderabad that the system of reserving positions for backward classes is getting out of control and needs reassessing. The prime minister must have some good reason for hinting this on his return from his election tour of three provinces in the south. This hint could be made only in Hyderabad which is at a safe distance from Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat, both of which harbor strong feelings against the system of reserving jobs for backward classes. In all southern provinces backward castes and tribes now have an almost equal share in power and in such lofty professions as medicine and engineering. These provinces have three-fourths of their jobs and professional educational seats reserved for these scheduled castes without any effort. They should not be worried by Mr Gandhi's statement on this issue. However, in this era of mass communication, the message will reach the right people in no time. People who want to start trouble are also aware of the power of communication and those who are to benefit from these reserved jobs are not affected by this ruling much yet. So, the proponents of the system of having reserved seats for backward classes will sing praises of Arjun Singh and the opponents, understanding the hint given by the new prime minister, will wait until the elections are over. They will not stop their tirade against this system but will make sure they do not harm the Congress Party. The Indore court has already nullified the system of reserving jobs for specific groups.

The prime minister has revealed an important truth unintentionally. The problem of the quota system is whether it is well-managed or out of control. If it is for providing equal opportunities to backward classes then why did the business-like chief minister of Madhya Pradesh remember about it only at the time of elections?

It has been a long time since the central commission submitted its report on this issue. More than ten congress and non-congress provinces have accepted these recommendations in principle. Other provinces are quietly waiting for the issue to die away. The so-called backward castes of Madhya Pradesh are not under any new pressure. The Dravida movement of Tamilnadu is also long gone. If the Congress Party could afford to ignore suggestions made by the Kaka Kalelkar commission at the height of this movement, then why should the

Arjun Singh government have any problems in delaying discussions on this issue during these peaceful times?

The answer to this "why" is that he had to reap some election benefits from this issue. Backward castes were unhappy with the Congress Party for the new 25-percent quota. These backward castes are the backbone of Charan Singh's power in Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar there was a big fight over this unfortunate issue. In Madhya Pradesh, Arjun Singh thought that reserving job quotas for these castes during the election period would help him keep them in his camp. The power group in Madhya Pradesh are at daggers drawn on this quota system issue. Mr Bhagwat Dayal Sharma had to relinquish governorship because of his speech in Gwalior on this issue of quotas. Who but Arjun Singh knew how the slogan of reserved quotas would get the 81 percent of voters to support him. This became easier because of the opposition of higher caste people to this issue. This arithmetic of elections, however, resulted in administrative problems for him. This question brought a premature revolution in schools, colleges and offices. Now the offices, schools and colleges are closed and the neighboring Gujrat province is also feeling the pinch.

The quota system has caused many violent incidents. Bihar Province is still paying the price of the Marxist-style war that Kapoori Thakur caused between castes in Bihar. The Congress Party has played on the feelings of Brahmins, untouchables and backward tribes for political gains ever since independence. Other castes have been neglected and suffered. This strategy is old now and the Congress Party is trying to bring the middle castes into its camp by promising them job quotas. This political corruption, used in the name of social justice, has divided our society into opposing factions. The situation has become so bad that people who should have benefited from the quota system are being short-changed by it. The leaders of backward classes raised their voice against the quota system long before the medical and engineering students belonging to the middle class. They argued that the backward classes did not gain anything from these quotas except an inferiority complex and the hatred of high-caste students. It was a useless lollipop for them!

Leaders who believe that money is the greatest equalizer keep forgetting that the money will not help if the young men of lower castes and backward tribes lose their self-esteem in this process. It is easy to answer the argument of the anti-quota group that it encourages unqualified students to get degrees in medicine and engineering. The doctors have become quacks anyway. The quality of engineers has been demonstrated by the Bhopal incident! The chemical engineers who have been approving that plant must have been proud when the Bhopal accident happened! Admission to these professional fields is tied to family wealth and knowledge of English rather than one's aptitude. Reserving 75 percent seats in colleges and university for 81 percent of our population is not injustice. The problem is that we consider all our social issues in the light of one or another quota system. We have to explore a better method of imparting social justice. A system which must be protected from corrupt politics. We must learn from what happened in Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat.

7997

CSO: 4624/11

10 May 1985

IRAN

MONTAZERI ON NEED FOR SIMULTANEOUS MORAL, SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT

LD061401 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] The Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, in the course of his meetings with various people during the past week, said, in reference to the Basij [mobilisation] forces' prime and definitive role on the battlefronts: It is to be expected that the officials concerned will increasingly appreciate this popular force [in the sense of people's force], which plays a prime role in the war without much ado, and that they [officials] will continue to work with the aim of eliminating their problems.

In connection with the importance of the dimensions of science and the university's cultural wealth in achieving complete economic and military independence, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri stressed: If our country does not witness adequate development in the field of science, all our slogans will be lacking in content and our dependence on other countries will remain as it is. The Grand Ayatollah Montazeri noted the necessity for simultaneous moral and scientific development, and stated: Scientific development on its own will be harmful. He stressed: The aim involved in sending representatives on my behalf, to the universities, is to practicably realize the slogan of the unity of the seminaries and the universities, and it should be noted that this slogan cannot be practicably implemented merely through organizing seminars and congresses; the intellectual links between the seminaries and universities must be realized in practice. Therefore, political, economic, legal and similar issues must be taught in the seminaries and should receive full attention, and the humanities and religious studies should be taught in the universities in the accepted vernacular of the day by scholarly and committed men of science. He stressed: If the seminaries make use of the university lecturers and the latter in turn, make use of the Ulema and scholars of the seminaries, the political and intellectual unity of seminaries and universities will become possible in practice. By referring to the sensitivities of students towards political issues, he stressed: Interactions and approaches must be creatively conducted and be welcomed and encouraged.

The Grand Ayatollah Montazeri in connection with the Lebanese Muslims' heroic resistance in the face of the Zionist regime, considered this resistance to be the result of the unity of words, the power of belief and of self-sacrifice, and stated: From what we know, the Zionists are plotting to bring about divisions between Shi'ites and Sunnis in Lebanon. In view of this, all Muslims, especially Islam's Ulema and the alert youth, must preserve their monolithic unity and strengthen it, and be cognizant of the evil provocations and influences of the Israeli and American mercenaries.

10 May 1985

IRAN

WAKENING EFFECT OF REVOLUTION FRIGHTENS OPPRESSORS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 17 Feb 85 p 2

/Text/ On the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic revolution committees, the deputy interior minister for the committees along with the responsible authorities, a group of martyrs' families of the Islamic revolution committees, a group of Iraqi and Najafabad martyrs' families and a group of employees of the Islamic revolution general prosecutor's office in Tehran met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri. In this visit, Ayatollah Montazeri referred to the present sensitive condition and considered the daily plots of the White House, Kremlin and other palaces of oppression and despotism against the Islamic Republic system and revolution and said: "Today the world of blasphemy and despotism, with complete inability, has seriously taken into account the power of Islam in the world and feels the danger from the awakening and vigilance of the nations around the world following the Islamic revolution of Iran. We must not think that these world colonialistic powers who have been slapped in the face by Islam will remain quiet and indifferent. Everyday is a different manner, they plan a plot for the annihilation of our nation, our revolution, and our Islamic rule. Most of their plots will be against Islam, the clergy and revolutionary organs. "Grand Ayatollah Montazeri emphasized: "The enemies of Islam use their efforts to destroy the organs which have derived from the revolution's text and have the most important role in protecting the revolution, like the committees, revolutionary courts, and revolutionary guards corps and others. They use all their efforts to make these organs look evil in order for our nation to become gradually dissatisfied and discontented with the origin of Islam and the clergy. Therefore, the duty of our dear and devout brothers in these organs is very heavy and sensitive. Our brothers must be completely aware of their conduct with people and those who for any reason come in contact with these organs, so that God forbid, the enemies of Islam will not be able to gather evidence under the pretext of non-Islamic conduct and create dissatisfaction among the people." He emphasized: "Among the enemies conspiracies and mischievousness in this stage of our revolution is the creation of a series of disturbances unemployment, and vagrancy in the government agencies and organizations in order to create dissatisfaction among

the people, especially the deprived and oppressed individuals. By agitating the people and making them dissatisfied and pessimistic about the basis of Islam and the clergy, the enemy tries to push them from the revolutionary scene. Our nation must confront these conspiracies with awareness and decisiveness."

In conclusion, the Grand Ayatollah Montazeri emphasized the protection of the employees' prestige and honor and said: "Unfortunately most of us do not consider our ordinary dialogues as a part of our conduct and it is highly possible that even one word could destroy the prestige of a minister, Friday imam, Majlis deputy, or any effective person or organ among the people and create a situation that the employee would not be able to work with that organ any more. The Islamic prophet asks: 'Is there anything except the unruly tongue to throw people into the fire?'" He emphasized: "Today, six years after the revolution and the stabilization of the Islamic Republic system, it is expected that on one hand, anyone with responsibility or in any organization should act in a way to protect the prestige of the system and on the other hand, completely take into consideration the financial, life, job security and prestige of all the nation and try to protect and respect them. Even if we decided to execute the laws of Islam in dealing with a criminal or a convicted person, we are not entitled to insult the guilty or use the slightest abusive language."

According to this report during the last week, Mr Akrami, the minister of education and training, the undersecretaries of this ministry, Mr Jamarani, the representative of the imam and the director of endowments, haj and pilgrimage organization, Ashtiani, representative of the imam in the Islamic Republic gendarmerie, "Hojaj ol-Eslam Jami, Friday imam of Abadan, and Dehdashti, one of the devout ulama of this city, and Islamic Majlis representatives of Shiraz, Kuhdasht, Shiravan, and Flavar Jan met and talked separately with the Grand Ayatollah Montazeri.

Last week a large group of revolutionary guard, military, and mobilization combatants, instructors of the revolutionary guards of the 10th district and Hamzeh region along with some commanders and Mr Rahmani, official of mobilization, met with Ayatollah Montazeri. At the conclusion of this meeting he prayed for the final victory of the Islamic combatants and the long life of the nation's imam.

9815

CSO: 4640/476

IRAN

KOMITEHS MUST REMAIN VIGILANT AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 17 Feb 85 p 2

/Text/ The chief justice of the Supreme court of our country, addressing the revolutionary guards of the Islamic revolution komitehs emphasized that the komitehs must use the same power they have used from the beginning of the revolution until now to stop the plots of oppression and remain vigilant against today's counterrevolutionaries plots who are spreading corruption, unlawful acts, narcotics, and seeking illegal conveniences in the society and forcefully neutralize their activities.

Yesterday morning Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili, the chief justice of the Supreme Court in a talk with staff of the komitehs on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic revolution komitehs, referred to the precious memory of the excessive generosity of the komiteh revolutionary guards at the beginning of the victory of the Islamic revolution and stated: "Today's Islamic Republic officials, after the victory of the revolution, started their first work by the komitehs and each one before accepting the present responsibility is a revolutionary guard." The chief justice of the supreme court referred to the need for continuation and expansion of the Islamic Republic's komitehs activities and said: "The lack of komitehs creates a vacuum in different parts of the nation where we cannot easily compensate for these resulting inadequacies."

Mr Musavi-Ardabili in glorifying the sacrifices of the revolutionary guards of the Islamic Republic komitehs said: "The komitehs have served devotedly from the beginning of the revolution until now and the proof is their lack of complaint." The chief of the Supreme Court emphasized: "World arrogance suffered a heavy blow from your devoted efforts but is not dead yet and you must be vigilant in confronting the future oppressive plots against the revolution." He added: "You revolutionary guards have performed well up to now and must continue this performance more than ever."

Then Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili pointed out the role of leadership in strengthening the pillars of the revolution and said: "Through the wise leadership of the nation's imam and your useful movement, as long as the revolution enjoys the people's and revolutionary guard's support, its condition is guaranteed and oppression will be able to harm the revolution."

The chief justice of the Supreme Court stated: "The cause for the oppressors' defeat versus the Islamic revolution was that they are evaluating our revolution by the standards of other revolutions and they have not yet been able to find the secret of our people's success."

Mr Musavi-Ardabili said: "The komitehs are responsible for the protection of the revolution's values and as long as the revolution exists, they must fulfill their duty more vigilantly." He referred to the difficulties caused by the lack of komiteh forces in some of the townships and asked the director of the Islamic revolutionary komitehs to arrange the preparation for the establishment of komitehs in these regions.

The chief justice of the Supreme Court asked the Islamic komiteh's revolutionary guards to use their six years of military, disciplinary, and revolutionary movement experiences for this path of the revolution. "They must remember that the motive of service is for God, religious duty, revolutionary duty, and love of their leadership and their success: In conclusion, the chief of the Supreme Court indicated the need for observing religious rules in the performance of their mission and requested that the komiteh personnel be very attentive in exercising these rules.

At the beginning of this visit, Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek, deputy minister of the interior for the Islamic revolution komitehs, reported on the generous efforts of the revolutionary guards of the komitehs throughout the country to the chief justice of the Supreme Court. He referred to the history of the establishment of the komitehs through the order of the imam and said: "With the concentration and harmony of the Islamic revolution komitehs during the past 33 months, revolutionary guards of the komitehs have discovered 221 team hideouts of counterrevolutionary mini-groups and arrested more than 15,000 people, among them prominent members of the central organizations of these groups." He added: "In this connection, 58 cases of plots by the agents of the mini-groups were discovered and neutralized."

Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek pointed out the success of the komiteh revolutionary guards in the antismuggling campaign and said: "During 57 months the komiteh Islamic revolutionary guards have discovered 131 tons of narcotics from international and ordinary smugglers and have arrested nearly 83,000 smugglers."

The deputy minister of interior for the Islamic Republic komiteh's affairs referred to the need for fighting against the expansion of corruption in society and said: "The counterrevolution intended to expand corruption in society and revive the bitter memory of the decline of Muslims in Andalusia, in Islamic Iran. But the awareness of the komiteh's Islamic revolutionary guards will never permit these plots to revive the bitter memory of Andalusia again."

In conclusion Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek expressed hope that the komitehs will be able to protect the values of the revolution with fervour and desire filled with faith and love of Islam.

IRAN

NVOI BLAMES IRAN FOR WAR'S PROLONGATION

TA151315 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 13 Apr 85

[Unattributed commentary: "Do Not Blame Others for Your Own Faults"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Demonstrations and protests by our homeland's people against the war and its prolongation are escalating. However, the mass media of the Velayat-e Faqih have launched a great hue and cry in connection with the visit by the UN Secretary General to Tehran and his talks with leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the need to end the war--in the same usual style of the mullahs which is based on distortion, sophistry, and justification of the treacheries of the Velayet-e Faqih's regime.

These gentlemen's complaint--and their bottom line--is that international assemblies, neighboring governments, and world public opinion have allegedly led the war to this point due to negligence. They ask: Why is the aggressor not condemned? Since this has not happened, we have continued and will continue the war.

First and foremost it should be stated that this claim by the authorities and mouthpieces of Khomeyni's regime is totally false and contrary to the facts. Although the ruling mullahs, with the (?aid) of some of their elements, embarked on various plots and provocations in Islamic countries, including Iraq, to stage their notorious Islamic revolution, and consequently provoked the reaction of these countries, world public opinion and progressive parties and organizations, however, condemned aggression against the territory of Iran. Moreover, the Nonaligned Movement, the United Nations, the community of socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and many of the world's progressive peace-loving parties, organizations, and figures--from the very outbreak of the war--demanded the resolution of disputes between the two belligerent sides by peaceful means.

Was it not you bloodthirsty rulers who chanted the slogans "forward toward the fronts for the Conquest of Karbala" or "The establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iraq," and turned them into your current policy? How could and how can international authorities and officials and the world's peace-loving countries defend you warmongers, psychopaths, and propagators of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other countries? They say: The aggressor must be condemned, which is right. However, one cannot answer aggression with aggression and justify it. By setting conditions for ending the war and

establishing peace, namely changing the Iraqi regime, you have actually provided the evidence against you before world public opinion. Even a child knows that acceptance or rejection of this or that regime is something that solely concerns the people of this or that country. Who has appointed you as deputy and guardian to talk in the name of the Iraqi nation, and impose your own will and that of a number of Iraqi mullahs like yourselves on the nation of that country?

The war-mongering policy and expansionist tendencies of you, bloody rulers of the Islamic Republic, have cost our homeland's people and the Iraqi nation dearly. The people have condemned this policy and want peace. Prolonging the war will hasten the death of your own regime.

CSO: 4640/515

10 May 1985

IRAN

OFFICIAL EVALUATES HEADQUARTERS FOR HEAVY INDUSTRY MOBILIZATION

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 5 Mar 85 p 16

[Interview with director general of Statistics and Information Evaluation Office and secretary of Heavy Industries Mobilization Headquarters]

/Text/ It is a few months now that a headquarters called Heavy Industries Mobilization Headquarters has been formed in the Ministry of Heavy Industries. This headquarters has been very successful in enacting some policies as regards resistance against unfavorable conditions or crises arising from foreign exchange issues and the problems related to the provision of raw materials. The following statements are the text of an interview with the director general of the Statistics and Information Evaluation Office and secretary of the Heavy Industries Mobilization Headquarters.

/Question/ For what purpose and objective, and from what date was the Heavy Industries Mobilization Headquarters formed?

/Answer/ As a result of the traitorous acts of Saddam in attacking oil tankers in the Persian Gulf and thus creating the possibility of limiting our oil export and a decrease in the inflow of foreign exchange, from the beginning of the current year the subject of preparing specified plans for certain organizations and organs was discussed in a commission composed of several cabinet members and some deputy ministers in order to be able to offset any imminent economic crisis. Accordingly, some ministries were ordered to take proper action in this regard and prepare the necessary plans. In reality, the main objective was to confront the ill effects caused by foreign exchange crises in the economic activities of the country. Thus, a certain plan was to be developed which would detail the continuation of the activities of certain organizations in time of crisis and prepare them to rearrange their programs as necessity arose and prepare them to deal with the new situation. God willing, the plots of the world arrogance in regard to this situation, like many other plots, were not realized and fortunately it never became necessary to use these plans as a whole. However, this act set our organizations to think about preparing such a plan or programs of action which is a very beneficial and useful measure for our country.

First, it was supposed that the deputy ministers of the ministry of Heavy Industries and the Ministry of Mines and Metals should prepare a common plan entitled: "Combating Crisis in the Sectors of Mines and Industries." Although

the preliminary work of the plan has been prepared, unfortunately, as a result of a lack of active participation by the responsible members of the two ministries, this ministry /heavy industries/ alone carried out the task and perhaps this ministry is the only one which pursued the matter. At any rate, in addition to preparing the plans, some parts of the programs were also put into effect which met with some significant success. I remember the days when brother Nabavi used to emphasize that no matter whether the necessity for such plans existed or not we ought to have certain contingency plans, whereby we could fall back on them whenever needed. In any event, with due consideration to our goals, execution policies, procedures and execution systems a preliminary plan was put together and after several meetings with the minister and relevant deputies of this ministry in the month of Tir, 1363 /22 June - 22 July 1984/ the final plan called: "Plan for the Mobilization of Heavy Industries Headquarters" was drafted. Thus, from that date this headquarters began its work in the area of the plan's execution.

/Question/ Who are the members of the headquarters and what are their duties?

/Answer/ As it has been predicted in the organizational system of the plan, this plan has a central headquarters and seven executive committees. The principal members of the headquarters are the minister of heavy industries, chairman of the executive board of the Expansion Organization, deputy minister of Coordination and Provincial Affairs, deputy minister of Industrial and Utilization Projects Department, deputy minister of the Economic and Commercial Department, deputy minister of the Department of Planning, deputy minister of the Department of Training and deputy minister of the Research Department. Meanwhile, each one of the deputies is in charge of one or more of the executive committees whose members are composed of director generals of this ministry, chairman of the Expansion Organization or some specialists. The headquarters' committees are Production and Utilization, Economy and Commerce, Finance and Budget, Formulation and Expansion, Training and Human Power, Self-sufficiency and Propaganda committee. The duties of the headquarters and the committees have been prepared in detail in the plan. Here we can mention some of the duties of each.

* Duties of the Central Headquarters

Determination and designation of the duties of the committee members, examination and approval of instructions, circulars and execution plans and supervision as to their proper application, analysis of the results of the programs, making appropriate decisions under various critical situations and presentation of a report of activities to the state authorities.

* Duties of the Production and Utilization Committee

Giving priority to production, obtaining information about the availability of materials and the resistance of the production units, preparing useful and beneficial instruction on machinery and utmost use of their damaged parts, preparing plans for maintenance and repair, preparing proper programs for production application, determining the situation of production continuity, stopping or changing the production line when needed.

* Duties of the Commerce and Economy Committee

Recognizing available means and securing or providing materials by various channels, regulating the distribution system of materials, making appropriate policies in line with foreign agreements, preparing proper instruction for reduction of foreign exchange expenditures, determining the advisability of export markets, continual collection of information on the availability of materials at the place of origin, determining priorities, unloading and transportation of materials.

* Duties of the Finance and Budget Committee

Preparing a plan for cash flow and predicting the necessary funds for the provision of materials when needed, giving priority to payment of debts and expenditures of service units, regulating a budget, calculating the final cost based on price fluctuation, investigating the possibility of final cost reductions and eliminating unnecessary expenditures, continual examination of the situation of the units.

* Duties of the Formulation and Expansion Committee

Giving priority to development plans, changing the plan location when necessary, using the free sources of power in development projects at the time of crisis, studying agreements on development plans, examining the shifts in production line concerning development projects as regards the provision of high priority requirements, formulating the time schedule for the execution of projects.

* Duties of the Training and Human Power Committee

Preparing military and special training plan, determining the rules for the payment of salaries and wages, absorption or assimilation of the human power released from other divisions of industry to where needed, continuous and up-to-date information on the human resources released from a certain department and distributing them among other departments.

* Duties of the Self-sufficiency Committee

Recognizing the possibilities of the domestic goods market, forming research and self-sufficiency centers, performing efficiency research, examining the chain of production and establishing a relation between the demands and the possibilities.

* Duties of the Propaganda Committee

Preparing propaganda programs which stress thriftiness, creating encouraging and motivating atmosphere, beneficial and prudent use of the tools and materials, preventing the recurrence of political and social crisis.

/Question/ What have been the accomplishments of the headquarters so far?

/Answer/ We can certainly say that the problems which had come about as a result of the scarcity of foreign exchange and its fluctuation during the past couple of months almost led some of the factories to the verge of collapse or at least could have caused a substantial decrease in their production, thus creating layoffs and a period of recession. In any case, some of these factories got so close to the verge of a complete collapse--and one can easily imagine if such large industrial production units which employ a large number of personnel had to close down what a calamity the government would have faced. Therefore, one of the continual measures of this headquarters is the persistent follow-up and recognition of such critical situations so that necessary decisions and timely actions can be taken to resolve the problems.

It should be noted that recognition of the state of affairs and the true situation of the industrial units and discovering their power of resistance and persistence is something which is done with the assistance of the headquarters in charge of the production control. This headquarters has a very effective and important role in gathering information. For instance, before a meeting is convened the names of the industrial units which are believed to be in a critical situation with regard to the gravity or slackness of the crisis will appear on a board which identifies the severity of the situation through green, yellow and red colors. Thereafter, in the sessions which follow in the headquarters the condition of the red marks which identifies the very critical situations of a certain unit is studied. In these meetings, which are attended by the chairman of the factory, all the possible solutions are investigated and the final decisions are conveyed to the responsible officials for execution. This matter will be followed up as long as necessary so that the situation in a certain factory returns to normal. The same procedure applies to the non-governmental industrial units. We have to admit that up to now this headquarters has achieved very significant results, so much so that up to this very moment none of the factories has come to a standstill, although in some cases the possibility of such an occurrence was very high. This goes to show the successful record of accomplishments of the headquarters for the past few months. Despite the fact that there has been a continuous reduction in foreign exchange revenue, in comparison to the last year, the rate of production has been on the upswing. This matter makes it clear that if there is proper guidance and correct protection when and where it is needed, the outcome and the effective results could be extremely valuable.

Other duties of the headquarters comprise investigation of the plans and instructions which are prepared by the committee. Hereunder we mention a few examples:

Whenever there is a chance or possibility of restriction, allocation of the foreign exchange revenue should be taken into consideration with regard to the importance and priority of production goods. The task of differentiation and determination of priorities is one of the duties of the production and utilization committee. Taking into consideration such factors as the percentage availability of domestic materials, expediency and strategics of a certain commodity, markup cost and domestic make of a merchandise, etc... The production and utilization committee prepares a list in which all the factories and productions have been accordingly given due priority and this list becomes a suitable document for the allocation of foreign exchange. In case of the emergence of a foreign exchange restriction and reduction in allocation, by simply referring to this list we can determine how much and to what extent foreign exchange should be allocated to a certain factory. Of course this priority list is constantly being examined and updated for a more complete picture of the total situation. In a like fashion, preparation of a list of priorities as regards the developmental projects is also the duty of the production and utilization committee. With due regard to the rules and regulations of actual development, intensity of dependency, etc... all the private and governmental projects have been given due priority which in a time of crisis enables us to decide which program or plan should continue or which one should be stopped. Similarly, proper instructions concerning cash flow in time of crisis and calculation of the rapidity of the production flow in the industrial units is the duty of the finance and budget committee. On the other hand, in the final plan of the mobilization of the heavy industries, we have gone so far as to predict the case when a complete shutdown of an industrial plant may occur and what could be done with the laid-off personnel who through certain crash training can be assimilated into other developmental and national projects. Furthermore, the issue of the provision for the subsistence of the laid-off employees and the distribution of necessary materials is part of the programs included in the agenda of the training and human power committee.

/Question/ With due regard to the significance and sensitivity of the above statements, how much time is designated by the headquarters to tackle this business?

/Answer/ Until now we have had 54 meetings which have dealt with the second phase of the plan, that is, the execution phase. These meetings are held early in the morning /one hour before the start of office hour/, twice a week. And on the average about five hours time is assigned to this job every week. According to the comments made by the members of the headquarters, this plan has created an active and vibrant atmosphere throughout this ministry, the expansion committee and other related units. For this reason, brother Nabavi puts

great emphasis on the non-interruption of the work of this headquarters, to the extent that even his illness and confinement to bed did not prevent the formation of these meetings.

Attendance of all the expert deputies in this headquarters provides us with the best opportunity to determine proper policies and procedures and create a harmonious atmosphere for the necessary coordination of the executive affairs. So far it has been very successful in the rapid execution of some measures and the elimination of bureaucracy and red tape.

/Question/ How do you assess the effect of the work done by this headquarters on the industrial production units?

/Answer/ A brief glance at the statistics of production during the past few months of the current year /taking into consideration the three consecutive reductions in foreign exchange quotas which this ministry had to endure/ all but substantiate the efforts and coordination in the mobilization headquarters and its ability to utilize various means in order to prevent the industrial units from coming to a standstill or reduce their production. Such measures not only have been successful in preventing a down swing in production, on the contrary, we have been able to keep the production level higher than the previous year. Obviously, attaining such a significant success was not possible by relying only on the allocated foreign exchange quota, but the efforts of the Commerce and Economy Committee and execution of barter trades and BTC helped to obviate this drawback. I can say quite with confidence that through such exchange in trade and earning foreign currency revenues this ministry has had the highest rate of success among other ministries /with the exception of the oil Ministry/. Of course these are some of the things which need little mention. Certainly, the actions taken by this headquarters in order to stir up some activity in various sectors and attain various means and ways of resolving the problems have been very beneficial and useful. I hope our efforts will be acceptable to God, the imam of the nation and the ever-present-on-the-scene people of the country.

12719

CSO: 4640/509

IRAN

STRIKES, ARMED CLASHES REPORTEDLY SPREAD IN FACTORIES

GF031327 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e-Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 2 Apr 85

[Summary from poor reception] Strikes and armed clashes have spread in the country's industrial units to such an extent that officials of the Khomeyni regime are worried.

The Nejat-e-Iran correspondents throughout the country have sent different reports on this subject. All reports indicate a wave of dissatisfaction among the workers in factories, workshops, and industrial units across the country.

According to one report, in one of the petrochemical plants in the south three serious clashes and strikes have broken out in the last 1 1/2 months. This plant is between Sar-e Band and Mahshahr on the Persian Gulf and is called the Chamran plant.

One of Iran's multi-billion dollar petrochemical plants in Bandar Shahpur [Bandar Khomeyni] is totally destroyed because of a lack of management on the part of the regime and also due to the war. Now the regime is planning to close the housing industry connected to this plant.

The officials have either fired the workers in the Chamran plant or else they have forced them to resign. Within the past few weeks the workers have protested against such actions and have clashed with security officials.

The workers' representative from this plant, Yar Ahmad Khonji, was shot and killed by revolutionary guards. His funeral turned into an anti-regime protest and the workers set a part of the factory on fire.

In one car factory south of Tehran the workers have protested against the regime because of a lack of interest shown towards their demands by the authorities. The manager of the factory is a relative of Majlis speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani who has refused to raise the workers' pay. As a result the workers engaged in serious clashes with the revolutionary guards in this factory. Several people were wounded.

CSO: 4640/516

10 May 1985

IRAN

CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS EXECUTION OF OFFICERS

GF091336 (Clandestine) Radio Nejat-e Iran in Persian 1630 GMT 8 Apr 85

[Text] While the Iran-Iraq war has lessened somewhat in intensity during the past 24 hours, the executioners of the Islamic regime have executed by firing squad two army colonels and one captain.

According to a report that we have received, Colonel Qaravi and Captain Rabi'i of the II Armored Regiment of Zanzan, and Lieutenant Colonel Hoseyni of the Shahrud Brigade were placed in front of firing squads in Ahvaz and Dezful.

According to a dispatch from our correspondent in Khuzestan, 3 weeks ago three army officers were placed on trial in military courts of the regime in Ahvaz and Dezful. The so-called trials lasted 15 minutes and, in accordance with the orders of the mullah who was the chief judge, the men were put to death. These men were Col Qaravi and Capt Rabi'i of the Zanzan regiment, and Lt Col Hoseyni of the Shahrud Brigade. They were charged with incompetence at the battlefronts and of being defeated by the enemy. They were put on trial and sentenced to death.

Colonel Qaravi, in a courtroom speech lasting several minutes, said: My soldiers traveled by train from Zanzan to Ahvaz for 3 days without adequate food. After arriving at the battlefronts in Huwayzah, they were sent to face the enemy before receiving enough arms and ammunition.

CSO: 4640/512

IRAN

DANGERS THREATENING STUDENTS ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 7 Mar 85 p 6

/Text/ Over two years have passed since the universities have been reopened. This is enough time for a comprehensive evaluation and examination of all the problems associated with this media, an important media which is very effective in structuring society and which plays a very significant role in the system of the government. Naturally, the university like many other media and institutions was an inheritance which was bequeathed from the former regime to the Islamic Republic. An inheritance which had nothing in common with the revolution and Islam and had to be transformed and rectified along the values of the Islamic revolution. However, as a result of the imprint or impression of transformations by the two regimes, the university found itself in a position which caused it to have two separate dimensions. One dimension was its special duties which dealt with the training of experts, engineers and doctors for an industrial society, a society of assembly lines all dependent on the West. All its programs and plans were carried out under the guidance of the West and the United States--it was such an atmosphere where dependency, subjection and clientship was encouraged. The other dimension which had come about as a result of the aspirations of vigilant and revolutionary students was to have the role of awakening the university and changing it into a center for struggle and divulging the atrocities of the cruel regime of the shah.

University Issues from the Profile of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution

After the victory of the revolution there were some university-related issues which could not be separated from the general atmosphere of the society and the revolution. First, the extreme rapidity of the events which took place and the swift and unexpected victory prevented the training and nurturing of Muslim revolutionary cadres for the control and guidance of various necessary affairs. Second, there was a lack of programs, instructions and experience so that our university could be guided in the direction of cultural independence, industrial self-sufficiency and the necessary expertise. Third, there were some professors and individuals who, without having a profound understanding of the Islamic revolution, thought that they could carry on with the same ideas and ideals and method of approach as before and be able to continue to push forward their line

of work. Fourth, there were some political groups and those students who were the followers of the Islamic regime and who had been either released from the prisons or had come out of their hiding or had come back from abroad. These were the people who had thought themselves to be the inheritors of the revolution, but since they did not have the necessary public power base and saw that our universities lacked proper guiding supervisors, they took it upon themselves to set up their base of activities within the university. They were the people who, in an irresponsible manner toward the fate of the revolution, carried out their activities and awkwardly hummed their tunes without thinking about the revolution, the society, the people and the necessary circumstances which had given rise to the present situation. Fifth, there also existed the clash between different political groups and, as a result of Bani Sadre's insatiable ambitions for power, there was the peculiar atmosphere and circumstances which as long as he was around, not only was it possible to resolve the university's problem, but the whole society, the revolution, the media and institutions and all the normal affairs could not follow their natural progressive path. Sixth, Sadre's lack of experience, immaturity and incapability versus the individuals who had realized the danger and who felt responsible towards the Islamic revolution but who did not have the logical tools for defense and did not choose a fundamental approach to ward off the above-mentioned danger, contributed to increase the extent of the problems.

Taking into consideration the existing circumstances in the universities after the victory of the revolution, one thing was quite clear and that was the urgency of a change and transformation in the university and its relations with the outside world. This sense of urgency and this change and transformation had varied dimensions. A) The system and the educational programs had to be changed and adapted to the norms and values of the Islamic revolution. B) The management and teaching cadre had to be brought into alignment with the system of the Islamic Republic in a fundamental, calculated and gradual manner. C) A new definition had to be found for the student and his role and relations with the political, economic, social and cultural issues of the society in the new system and the training pattern for a Muslim and revolutionary student had to be determined. This would enable the student to realize his position in the new system and make him familiar with his significant role in the structure and restructuring of the system and thus let him be educated along the line of the new teaching and training patterns.

The extent and spread of the subject: "training program" in addition to its being a specialized field also necessitates that it be dealt with in a separate discussion with the help and consultation from the experts. Also we will talk about the subject of "management" which belongs to a more political and executive group in another future session. However, the third above stated dimension, that is "The new definition for the student and his social and political role" in the Islamic Republic system, which can be given a humanitarian and

altruistic aspect, is something which concerns the students and they ought to deal with on a personal basis--this is the subject of our discussion in this article.

Dangers of Present Issues

After the victory of the revolution the Muslim students and followers of the Islamic movement were faced with two problems which now have become two dangers. One of these two problems concerns with intimate or the innermost characteristics and the other concerns with the outermost or exterior personality. In other words, one deals with subjectivity and the other purely deals with objectivity and the only way that such a problem can be resolved is through its interconnection with other problems of the society and the revolution as a whole. Therefore, this interrelationship forces us to follow our study of the two problems in a joint manner. At the present time, what seems on the surface as a significant issue is the matter of directorship as far as universities are concerned. This directorship would comprise such people and organizations as the prime minister and his ministry, the former Cultural Revolution Headquarters, the present Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution, University Crusade Organization and the officials and professors of the universities. The very essence and the webwork of this organ before the revolution together with its role and its significance in the reconstruction of a social system can indicate the delicacy and subtlety of our interaction with the university. A kind of subtlety which was unfortunately not utilized, and it should be noted that if we are not going to actually consider the proper use of subtlety and fundamental principles, the ensuing result would be either going to either extremes or deviation and distortion of the facts.

It must certainly have been funny when sometime after the victory of the revolution a newly appointed university director who called himself a genuine liberal who with a straight and smug face and tone in response to the opposition and objection of some Muslim students had said: "They were right who said a revolution eats up its own children!" In any case, the harsh and uncalculated extremist interaction ended up where our universities lacked a capable cadre, the quality of education decreased, a kind of negativism and reactionary attitude became prevalent among professors and it was only our revolution which incurred a loss in the long run. Of course, it is obvious that we are talking about the fundamental principles of Islam and its interrelation with all the strata of the society, particularly the vigilant revolutionary and Muslim stratum. However, there were also other individuals whose lives were intertwined with either the East or the West and it was necessary to determine which direction they were heading. Those who thought that independence is nothing but a mirage or an impossibility for this nation. They wanted us to be dependent. They were the kind of individuals who were total losers and all lacked the capability of having an independent, revolutionary and Islamic identity. But

how and why they cannot be considered harmless consequentially is something which should not easily be shoved aside.

The gist of the matter is that all those harsh, extremist and illogical reactions have now resulted in exactly the opposite of what we aimed for. First, we have to make every possible effort to attract and bring back all the experts and professors who are either working inside the country in the private sector or have gone abroad. Second, we ought to give them more authority. Third, there will always be the probability for a professor who is not going to work hard enough or who won't be as sympathetic or enthusiastic about his work as we wish him to be. Fourth, there will always be the danger that he might deviate from the proper path of the revolution and guide his activities in another direction. To put it precisely, this would be dissipation or uncontrolled immoderation. It is for this reason that at the present time, university crusades and Islamic societies in the universities together with our devout and combatant Muslim students, whose sincerity and candor leaves no room for doubt, have become seriously active and oppose the dissolution of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters--an organ responsible for the realization of their ideals and an institution where the Islamic educational programs are initiated. They are warning us against the former relations and the kind of atmosphere which prevailed in our universities before.

Certainly, there is such a danger and our students must be right in sensing it. However, this is not all that concerns our universities. It is a fact that right now the problem of directorship is the issue and liberalism and the revival or the advocacy of modernism and westernization is sharply on the rise in the universities and we ought to think of doing something about it. But, first we should know that this is a facet of a political contest present in our revolution which has not been solved yet. Second, the other issue concerns the universities' students themselves. First of all, the Muslim students, Islamic societies and university crusade organizations who were the initiators of the cultural revolution and who were the executive arms of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters and who have always remained faithful to Islam, the revolution and the imam /although there are some people who are frightened by their very existence and power and employ every possible means to weaken their grip/ ought to see how much they themselves have contributed to creating the present atmosphere in the universities. Thus, Mohammedenism, devotion to the holy Koran and the very spirit and character of the Prophet command these students to realistically and bravely evaluate themselves, and determine the weaknesses and inadequacies of their own perspicacity and action.

The Main Danger and Students' Nation-wide Congress

At the beginning of the current school year it seemed that the necessity of organizing a nation-wide students' congress had been duly recognized. In other

words, because of the particular atmosphere which had come about as a result of political, cultural and evaluative considerations throughout the Islamic universities, it seemed necessary to any responsible, vigilant and devoted person that such a congress was but a necessity. Therefore, at the beginning of the present school year, the office of Hakim Vahdat announced the formation of the nation-wide Muslim students' congress in order to determine and define the role and the social position of the student in the Islamic Republic system. However, all the lectures, debates, meetings and communiques were leading but to one direction and solely to a single dimension--a dimension which did not bring about the desirable results since this trivial problem is an issue which needs to be resolved on a much higher and a more expansive level.

But the dimension which received the least amount of attention was the role of the students who themselves had a part in the creation of such an atmosphere. Certainly, we are looking at problem from a viewpoint of responsibility and devotion. We are well aware that under the same conditions those who are opposed to the eminent imam and the grand Ayatollah Montazeri, that is to say the deviationists and those individuals whose interests are at stake and those who have merged their interests with economic brokers and under the cover of political lawfulness or under the pretext of islamization, force their policy through and oppose the Islamic movement of the students who are following the guidance of the imam and the aware and combatant clerics. They use all their power to weaken the stance of these students. However, the significance of the matter leads all the devoted individuals like ourselves--despite the existence of the abovementioned atmosphere--to seek unabashedly an evaluation of the problems related to the Islamic movement of the students, since when dealing with a divine movement, the important and genuine thing is to keep away from feebleness or trying to gloss things over. The progress and improvement of God's front is dependent on the soundness, health and the strength of its innermost powers and not on the beautification, decoration or dolling up of the issues or the bitter facts.

It should explicitly be noted that the present danger of prevailing general social and political degradation is a vanguard and reconstructive phenomenon which was present in the Islamic movement of students. At one point, this prevailing general and social degradation became so rampant that some extremists went so far as to turn over to others the students' power and freedom to vote. They said that a student has no right to vote for a candidate of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and that the students ought to follow other in a blindfolded fashion. They even went so far in their die-hard attitude in preparing the grounds for the opportunists and said: "Politics belongs only to the religious jurisprudents and nobody else has a right to interfere in such affairs!" Those who are not well aware of the revolutionary values of Islam and are blind to the history of human evolution and the social transformations, think that

they can put a yoke on human thoughts and lead human beings with their insularity and narrow-mindedness. They seem to ignore the Koranic commands and historic realities which have proven them wrong so many times. The realities say that if someone or a society as a whole does not follow the examples of divine ordinations and does not consider the freedom, nobility and the dignity of the human spirit, that society will be doomed and will have nothing to expect except perdition and decadence.

At this time, the Islamic movement of the students which clearly cannot be separate from the total clerical and social Islamic movement of Iran is faced with an ever-increasing crisis. Considering the point that the Islamic revolution is engaged in reinforcing its cadres and forces and also taking into consideration the fact that all the universities have the basic and fundamental role of training expert cadres and devoted individuals for the economic, political, administrative, and educational system of the society, we come to realize the intensity of the present crisis very well. Is it not that the present university students will be drawn into various organizations, industries, educational systems and many other organs of this revolution and who will take charge of its continuity and be the sounding boards of the revolution? Is it not that the present day students will form the economic and political fabric of the revolution's tomorrow? If the answer is positive, then why are we so engrossed in negligence and painful indecisiveness? Who has the responsibility to guide the university in its proper mental and cultural direction? Is it not that the student should be directed by a correct Islamic and revolutionary training? Is it not that we ought to inculcate accountability and responsibility towards God, Islam and the deprived and oppressed people of the society through educational and political programs in the students? Is it not that by preventing the free flow of thoughts and putting a yoke on the basic Islamic movement of the student, we tend to increase our impediments and in the end face a negative reaction in the form of unbridled fury or turmoil?

Harmful Consequences of Present Clashes

If we looked with a realistic eye now we would see two different tendencies taking shape in the universities, two kinds of directions which not only can't be beneficial for the Islamic revolution but are going to be harmful and will tend to create some problems as well. The first tendency, which is an evaluative cultural tendency, encourages a carefree, negligent and irresponsible attitude toward society's problems; that is, for a student who one way or another will come into contact with the people of the society and who must devotedly work for the betterment and the enhancement of the position of Islam, the people and the society. A student who ought to be a morale booster is now only after his own self-interest and is merely looking toward a future with a high position and a good salary to get married and settle down and forget about the rest of the damned society. Nowadays, one cannot see any trace

of students' cooperation and self-sacrifice as far as true education, family issues, student association affairs and scholarly pursuits are concerned. And this is the tendency which will mould the system of education which is going to rule the student. The other tendency which has a political aspect and seems to be dormant now is the negative and naturally unhealthy reaction, which as a result of the impossibility of utterance and exposure in a free atmosphere, is now taking shape.

Lack of interest toward religious and political matters and want of proper reception toward cultural affairs throughout our universities is not a fact which can be hidden from the responsible authorities. In a meeting with the students who, after the end of a nation-wide congress, had gone to pay a visit to him, Ayatollah Meshkini said: "As it is reported in a university with 4,000 students, not even 40 students take part in the congregational prayers!" If we base all other probabilities on this simple fact, then we ought to really be sorry for the sad plight of the universities.

One has to ask oneself who is responsible for this situation? Can our Islamic students' societies be optimistic or should they just try to save face? Why don't our students welcome lectures? Why don't they attend the congregational and religious ceremonies? Why have all the sensitivities died down? Why is every one minding his own business and not giving a hoot? Is it that our students have been transformed, or is it that the narrow-mindedness and the ir-resolute attitude /what was pointed out by the grand Ayatollah Montazeri during his visit of university crusades/ have not left any favorable atmosphere for the expression of ideas and opinions? Those who feel uncomfortable about the situation and do not, in the meantime, pay any attention to the roots of the problems, have to sit back and pine; or through the use of some artificial and theatrical means such as posting some pictures, slogans or posters on the lifeless and boring notice boards of their college try to keep their students happy!

Let's Rise Up Vigilantly and Ward Off Danger

Brothers, the university is a place for the presentation of higher Islamic thoughts. Look back to the period before the revolution and find out the secret of the Muslim and non-Muslim students' open arms reception of the lectures of the martyr professor Morteza Motahari and martyr Dr Shariati. If in our speeches and our special ceremonies we do not present new ideas and fresh words and only content ourselves with the repetition of some hackneyed and trite words, then we must not expect to see anything else except a situation like what we are observing now. The university is a place for the growth and improvement of thoughts, and one can guarantee its dynamism and sociological adjustive reactions only through the presentation of novel and unique thoughts. If in an Islamic university the kind of revolution which has had imam Khomeyni as its harbinger, is not properly propagandized and ideas on the level of those

ideas of professor Motahari are not presented, then there would be no place for growth and progress toward islamization, and besides, such a situation will tend to limit the spiritual and intellectual influence of Islam in the university. My brothers, let's think of a remedy. Unfortunately, the newsletters or publications of some of the colleges are not even fit to amuse our high school students, let alone university students. Thus, how do we expect such writings or publications to arouse a sense of dynamism and hope in our students or attract them toward Islam or keep them faithful as before! Now that there is no other excuse, who is responsible for the decline in the cultural, political and intellectual level of the university? Therefore, let's not deceive ourselves and let's bravely investigate and tackle our problems. Let't pinpoint our weaknesses and inadequacies and work toward their elimination. I hope through presentation of such discussions regarding our problems, the islamic movement of the students will become healthier and stronger than before and stem the deviationary tides /tides which if not brought into the open will tend to become ever stronger/ and enhance the glory and splendor of Islam and the Muslims. God willing.

12719

CSO: 4640/508

12719

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THOUSANDS OF CONTRACT TEACHERS GAIN PERMANENT STATUS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Mar 85 p 1, 19

[Text] The two day seminar for education undersecretaries of provincial general departments of education and training was opened with a message from Ayatollah Meshkini and a speech by Seyyed Kazem Akrami, minister of education and training. The message of eminent Ayatollah Meshkini was read by Seyyed Ahamad Zarhani, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Education and Training. This message stated: "Islam is the only school among other religious schools which bestows a high position on knowledge and scholars and highly praises them both. Islam's advantage in regard to learning and the search for knowledge is farsighted. It looks at them with both eyes; with one eye it sees knowledge and with the other eye it sees action. Unfortunately, today's world is not aware of the lack of sight in one eye. Islam considers proper competency when granting any position or gift to a person and therefore, recognizes its conditionality. Those in charge of training and holders of this honorable position must be endowed with knowledge and piety in such a noble mission.

"From Islam's viewpoint, the fruitful tree, even with tiny fruit, but juicy, tender and fragrant, is beneficial and the favorite of the gardener. If it is full of fruit but the fruit is dry and worm-eaten then it is worthless. Therefore, a little knowledge combined with faith and conscience is good and fulfilling; to be specialized but hollow and devoutless is useless and dangerous. Islam notes that if you plant seeds of deviation in the pure brain of a child, or ignore him and fail to take notice of his deviation, or remain silent against his filthy ethics and ugly deeds, you are seriously responsible in front of God. From the Islamic eye, each sin committed by a human being is a darkness in space, and a poisonous polluter of society's air. The Qoran's logic calls for deliverance of religion and piety to the mind and heart in two ways. First, they are inspired by the mental resources of the teacher and are thus pronounced. Second, they are provided by the pious character and behaviour of the teachers. The second way is better and more effective. The Qoran also says "Invite society with presence of thought and deeds and not by words and speech along." Beloved friends, I sincerely recommend that you consider your justified prophetic mission as a trusteeship. Do not consider the pure and prepared mind of millions of people your personal possession. Respect them and consider their negligence as treason and toying with the most important pledge. Consider

yourself responsible not to one generation but to many generations. Use a magnifying glass with one eye on the Qoran and the other on Nahjol Balagheh [writings of the first imam] and look through them carefully at people within the circle of your duties. Eradicate the harmful microbes of discord and blasphemy and discard the dangerous hypocrite tumors from the body of society.

Thousands of Contract Teachers Gain Permanent Status

Then Zarhani, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Education and Training in a speech said: "Training affairs is an organ which was established during the crisis of the post revolution years and it has been able to resist all those difficulties created by domestic and foreign enemies throughout the school system. We must use our efforts to stabilize and strengthen this organ." In another part of his speech he noted: "The cooperation of the training departments with principals, superintendents and school teachers is the most fundamental part of the above mentioned issue."

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Education and Training in continuation of this speech said: "The training affairs' educators must not get involved in factions and they are not permitted to take action against each other. God forbid, if such a problem occurs, it will have a negative effect on student mentality and therefore, this problem should be confronted decisively." He also noted that 10,000 of the present contract teachers will gain official [permanent] status and that steps have also been taken to gain official status for teachers who are paid by the hour.

Preventing Immorality at the Schools

Then Seyyed Kazem Akrami, minister of education and training in a speech emphasized the need to observe entirely the moral and spiritual values at school, to avoid forming factions, and to establish harmonious cooperation among the teachers and school principals and said: "The principal direction in education and training is the question of training. We must pay attention to the strict sayings of the imam and make them the guidelines for our work."

Then, in comparing education between Islamic and materialistic societies he said: "Training is only meaningful in the school of divine God and to talk to those who do not believe in the origin and resurrection is useless." Then he added: "The teachers must move in the general direction of the revolution and the nation's imam and consider the guidelines of the nation's imam, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri and the nation's responsible authorities. In training affairs they must refrain from factions and taking sides and more than anything else, consider solidarity among the people and strata of the society."

In continuation of his talk, Akrami referred to the necessity for preventing the expansion of immorality in schools and said: "We must establish character files for the school students and register their activities in

these files. We must point out to those students who commit immoral acts at school that we are preparing educational regulations in order to prevent the immorality and the school must be kept clean from all immorality and corruption.

9815

CSO: 4640/480

IRAN

DATE OF MILITARY SERVICE FOR DRAFTERS ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Mar 85 p 1, 19

[Text] - KEYHAN political service - The gendarmerie general conscription office of the Islamic Republic issued a public notice announcing the date and place to report for military service for high school draftees born between 1960-1966 and June and September graduates of the current and previous years.

The public notice of the general conscription office is as follows: We hereby notify all high school graduate draftees born between 1960 and 1966 and June and September graduates of the current and previous years who registered between 2/20/85 and 2/24/85 at gendarmerie's regiment headquarters and frontier battalions, throughout the country, those who were not able to register for one reason or another and ordinary draftees whose birthday fall on the dates mentioned above who reside in the cities of Izeh-e Neyshapur, Shahr-e Rey, Hassan Abad, Marv Dasht, Khorramshahr, Firuzabad, Kazerun, Tabriz, Rafsanjan, Kangan, Varamin, Shahr-e Babak, Shadegan, Kenarak, Dasht Yari, Rasht, Dogonbadan and Tehran is first district to report for duty to the following districts:

- 1 - All high school graduate and ordinary draftees throughout the country should report for duty between 3/9/85 and 3/13/85.
- 2 - High school graduate draftees of Tehran should report for duty on 3/9/85 to Vali-e Asr garrison.
- 3 - Ordinary draftees in Tehran should report for duty on 3/10/85 and 3/11/85 to Vali-e Asr garrison.

Furthermore, in another public notice, the general conscription office warned draftees born between 1960-1966 who have not yet reported for duty: Those who do not report for duty by 4/18/85 or those who have been exempt from service and then recalled will be charged according to each case and their discharge certificates will not be issued for 10 years after completion of their service and the restrictions included in the new military laws will be applicable to them.

PAKISTAN

ZIA URGED TO RULE AS ELECTED PRESIDENT ONLY

Karachi AMN in Urdu 8 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan in the column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] The problem will not be solved by disqualifying some politicians or banning political parties by some law. The only way to destroy political parties and political figures is to defeat them in elections. There is no other way to annihilate them. It happened in this country that the High Court endorsed the ban on the National Awami Party, but the party reappeared under a new name with the same old manifesto, the same old political principles and the same politically tall leaders.

General Zia has said in his interview that if the National Assembly proves its worth, he will give up his post in the army. It is strange that he doubts the worth of the assembly that he himself has created according to his own plans. Will he refuse to give up his post in the army if the assembly does not prove its worth? If he wants that, he will have to bring further changes in the law and the constitution. According to the democratic traditions, the elected president cannot be chief of the army staff, and the law does not allow the chief of the army staff to take part in the elections.

General Zia will be inaugurated as president on 23 March, and it is wrong for him to continue to be chief of the army staff. He accused the previous rules of wearing the uniform of martial law after he had become an elected president. He called him "the first civil martial law administrator in the world". If he does not take off his uniform of chief martial law administrator before his inauguration, he will become the second such martial law administrator in the world. He should hand over his post in the army to some one he thinks fit. He will thus set a good example, and nobody will be able to accuse him of remaining chief of the army staff and chief martial law administrator after becoming an elected president. Even if it is essential to give military protection to the assemblies and the representatives, some other general should be appointed chief of the army staff and martial law administrator.

12476
CSO: 4656/101

U.S. ARMS SALE TO INDIA, PAKISTAN SEEN CONTRIBUTING TO TENSION

Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Balance of Power in the Subcontinent"]

[Text] Whenever Pakistan, for its defense, acquires sophisticated arms to replace the old and out-dated ones, there is a loud outcry that the balance of power in the subcontinent is being harmed. There was a similar uproar when Pakistan was provided with the air-to-air long-range missiles, cannon-bearing helicopters and long-range anti-ship missiles. Whenever Pakistan is faced with the issue of obtaining such weapons, anti-Pakistan lobbyists start opposing it. The U.S. Congress investigates every arms sale, and after immense scrutiny, grants approval for such a sale. A committee representing the Congress summons the U.S. administrators before it, and by cross-examining them, gains satisfaction that these sales are not being conducted with bias.

Recently, when a similar type of issue was under consideration, two U.S. under secretaries of defense informed the Congress that despite the provision of highly sophisticated weapons to Pakistan by the United States, the balance of power in the subcontinent has not been harmed. Ever since the United States started providing Pakistan with F-16 fighters, there has been a constant uproar about damaging the balance. However, the fact that a discussion is under way for the provision of highly sophisticated U.S. F-20 fighters to India by the United States, is being ignored by everyone.

No one can deny the fact that just as there is an arms race between the superpowers, similarly, there is an arms race at comparatively a lower level, between the small countries, too. In this regard, however, it is essential to bear in mind the fact that Pakistan has never criticized any country's right to obtain arms from anywhere according to its defensive needs. It is a decisive fact, however, that despite the acquisition of a small quantity of highly sophisticated weapons, which have been obtained purely for defensive purposes, Pakistan is incapable of fighting against any superpower or a country stronger than itself, for example, even India. Nevertheless, the greatest uproar is raised only when Pakistan is provided with sophisticated arms.

As far as Pakistan and India are concerned, the United States has once again adopted the role of conducting an arms race between the two countries, so that both these countries, in competing against each other, continue to buy the products of U.S. arms manufacturers. The same situation holds true for every arms producing country in that no risk of war exists, but the sale of arms continues.

With regard to the weapons, India has maintained superiority over Pakistan since its establishment. At first, India used to rely on British arms. Then it started buying Soviet arms. Even now it possesses mostly Soviet-made weapons. The United States had wished for a long time that India would buy American arms also. After many efforts, there are some indications now that India will buy some U.S. weapons, too.

The real issue is not how the purchase of these arms will alter the pattern of the balance of power in the subcontinent, but how ironic it would be if, God forbid, a war should break out in the subcontinent and both parties were using similar U.S. arms. This only goes to prove how filthy a role the United States, a merchant of arms, is playing in this regard. In other words, we also grant the power of selecting our friends and foes to the arms merchants.

The inhabitants of the subcontinent, in the 38 years since independence, have borne the bitterness of three wars, and they are not prepared for another. The inevitable result of such wars always is that all the improvement hoped for in various walks of life turns to dust. It is not, however, easy to solve the problems that are created by such a situation.

There is only one method of avoiding a war, and that is for democracy gain popularity in the subcontinent and the pressure of the public vote compel the war-loving generals to avoid a war. That is why it is the duty of every person on the subcontinent to work, at all costs, for the establishment and advancement of democracy. His aim should always be to promote peace and harmony among all. In any case, war always brings about destruction.

9779

CSO: 4656/100

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

U.S. EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 12-18 Feb 85 pp 18-19

[Article by Ibne Ismail in the column "Islamabad Diary": "United States Wants Change in India's Foreign Policy"]

[Text] During the last week, U.S. Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, Defense Secretary Weinberger and Dean Hunton, the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, have stated that the United States wants to have better relations with India, but not at the expense of Pakistan. They insisted that the United States would fulfill all its responsibilities in the protection of Pakistan's security and integrity and would provide economic help.

Diplomatic observers think that there is nothing new in U.S. policy here, since the United States has always leaned towards India in this region and gave some attention to Pakistan only when India's pro-Soviet policies seemed to make it essential to have friendship with Pakistan. A glaring example of this is the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in December 1979, when the United States suddenly began to think of protecting Pakistan's integrity. Previously America, in its antagonism against Pakistan's Atomic Program, not only imposed an arms embargo against Pakistan, but even stopped economic aid. After the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, however, the United States has lifted the arms embargo and started to give Pakistan long-term loans. This cooperation continues despite an outcry from India. The cause of this change in attitude was Mrs Indira Gandhi's friendship with the Soviets. Mrs Indira Gandhi's advocacy of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was unpleasant for the United States. Despite all this, the United States was always trying to win India over to its own side. The United States even offered India the opportunity to buy the same kind of U.S. arms that Pakistan was buying. Now the United States thinks that Rajiv Gandhi's administration is pro-West and that India will not lean towards the Soviets in his time. That is why the United States is making every effort to get in India's good graces. Pakistani political circles are suspicious of U.S. tactics in this matter, because it has been noticed that when the United States is trying to court India's favors it often ignores Pakistan's feelings and interests.

On the other hand some political observers think that a silent change has come about in U.S. foreign policy. The United States, according to these

On the other hand some political observers think that a silent change has come about in U.S. foreign policy. The United States, according to these circles, is renewing its relations with India with the warning that, if Soviet influence in South Asia increases, it may cause trouble for India since the United States would come to the aid of its friends in the region. That is why many U.S. dignitaries have said that Pakistan would be helped in case of aggression from the east. Meanwhile, a member of the U.S. foreign affairs committee, while on a tour of Bangladesh, said to the press reporters that smaller countries of South Asia cannot trust India. America, he continued, should change its policy in this region and help small countries to resist India's domination.

The reason why the United States is stressing its connection with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan is to make India aware of the fact that it has its allies in the region. The member of the U.S. foreign affairs committee further said that the leadership of India is pro-Moscow and, despite receiving aid from the United States, keeps complaining about America. Defending the U.S. policy of aiding Pakistan, he remarked that the United States is in favor of having joint naval defense plans with the smaller countries of South Asia. Rajiv Gandhi recognizes the fact that the increasing expansionism of the USSR in South Asia has provided the United States with an excuse for entering India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Pakistan and Oman. He also knows the negative effects that the USSR's lame excuses attempting to justify its occupation of Afghanistan are having on the scene in the subcontinent.

Political circles in Pakistan think that even though Mr Rajiv Gandhi has often reiterated his desire to have better relations with the United States. (he has accepted the invitation to visit the United States in June), he knows, too, that the United States is trying to court India's friendship. He wants to use America's leaning towards India to force it to pressure Pakistan. Hence, on the one hand, he is complaining about America's arms sale to Pakistan and, on the other hand, demanding that Pakistan stop its atomic energy program. The U.S. ambassador, too, has expressed his disapproval of Pakistan's atomic energy program. India wants to take full advantage of the opposition to Pakistan's atomic energy program by the United States and other Western countries. The Indian leadership knows that Pakistan will not give up its atomic program at any price, but India merely wants an excuse for blackmailing the United States.

Some diplomatic circles deem Mr Kissinger's recent visit to India and Pakistan a part of U.S. efforts to bring these two countries together, Mr Kissinger, talking about the importance of India-Pakistan relations. told president Zia-ul-Haq that the Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi gave great importance to India-Pakistan relations. Mr Kissinger said that the two countries can have better relations with each other if they give top priority to the renewal of their commercial relations with each other. He said that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is willing to do all that is in his power to normalize relations with Pakistan. Political observers say that the United States has asked India to use its influence with the Soviets to solve the

Afghanistan problem. India's reaction to this plan is not known. However, Mr Kissinger tried to explain to India that the arms sale to Pakistan is meant only for its defense. Mr Kissinger gave the president very thought-provoking advice by saying that Pakistan should accept India as a big brother. If it only means that one should admit India to be bigger than Pakistan in area, population and resources, there is no denying that fact. But if the big brother thinks that he can awe Pakistan by his size, he is grossly mistaken. The United States, too, should remember that no country makes friends with another at the price of its sovereignty. Time and again has Pakistan proved that it does not even bow before the United States and the Soviet Union; there is no question of bowing before India.

It is a fact that the United States wants to increase its political and economic relations with India and is willing to boost her economy by adding \$12 billion to the \$19 billion in aid to be given India by the World Bank. The advent of Mr James Baker in place of Mr Donald Regan, in particular, will make it easier for India to get U.S. aid, since Mr Baker is softer on India than Mr Regan was. The United States also wants to adopt a more lenient policy as regards exporting technical and military goods to India. The United States and India have recently made a deal at New Delhi about exporting high-level U.S. technology to India. Observers think that India should not be too optimistic about the outcome of the deal, since it will have to sign separate and detailed contracts with the United States for each and every thing it gets. This cannot happen without a definite change in India's foreign policy. Rajiv will have to prove India's independence of the USSR by joining other nonaligned countries and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan. India insists on a decrease in U.S. aid to Pakistan. India asks why it should stop making this demand simply because it is receiving aid from the USSR to resist China, who is a friend of the United States.

A report in the WASHINGTON POST quotes the Indian foreign minister, who said, "It is foolish to suppose that India will stop demanding an arms embargo against Pakistan just to be in the good graces of the United States." Some observers refer to a news report in the INDIAN EXPRESS which says that Mr Rajiv Gandhi will visit the Soviets in April 1985, before going to the United States. It is quite possible that India will try to get more benefits from the Soviets and the latter would accede to these demands on conditions that would make strong India-U.S. relations impossible. The USSR does not want India to oppose its involvement in international conflicts and is willing to give India every facility if it would side with the Soviets in these quarrels. If India decides to side with the Soviets, it will not be able to get much from the United States and Rajiv's visit to America will have no value for either party. Under such conditions, that is, India siding with the Soviets, the United States will not be willing to sacrifice the goodwill of India's neighbors to please her. Rajiv will have to consider the effects India's relationship with the Soviets will have on her relations with her neighbors who are not friendly (if not positively unfriendly) with the Soviets. He should make his decisions about his future attitudes after he has considered all the pros and cons of the matter. Diplomatic observers think that if

Rajiv Gandhi loves India's independence he must respect the freedom of other countries, too. Live and let live is the principle that India must follow. The stability of this region lies in peaceful co-existence.

Pakistan, according to diplomatic observers, has no objection to friendly U.S. relations with India. Pakistan wants to have good neighborly relations with India, and will make every effort to be on good terms with that country, but some elements in India are trying to negate these efforts by following the old policy of maligning Pakistan. They are trying to get a U.S. arms embargo against Pakistan, but, diplomats think, this propaganda will not hurt U.S.-Pakistan relations. On the other hand, considering the situation in Afghanistan, these relations will improve in the future. However, Pakistan has every right to demand that U.S.-India relations have a positive and not a negative effect on the situation in this region. Whatever steps the United States takes to win India over to its side, it should remember that Pakistan will not compromise its independence and sovereignty at any price, nor will it accept India's domination under any circumstances. As a sovereign state, Pakistan will always reserve its right to decide its own priorities and make its own choice in all international matters.

12476

CSO: 4656/95

PAPER SUPPORTS ZIA'S STRATEGY FOR TRANSFER OF POWER

Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 9 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "A Clear Act Of Transfer Of Power"]

[Text] In interviews with the nation's newspapers and British television, President General Zia-ul-Haq made it clear that the entire process of transfer of power from martial law to civil rule will be completed in a few months, and 23 March will begin the first stage in the ending of martial law and reinstatement of the amended constitution. Most of the constitution will be reinstated from this date, and 16 of the 18 sections of the former 1981 constitution will automatically lapse and cease to be in effect, with only 2 of the sections remaining in force. These two relate to the court's authority to enforce fundamental rights. Even these two sections will become obsolete when martial law is completely lifted and the complete amended constitution is reinstated.

After these statements there is no basis for charges from certain circles that the martial law government is not serious about transfer of power, reinstatement of the constitution and the end of martial law. Some politicians have gone so far as to charge that through constitutional amendments the country's president put martial law in civil clothing and that the 2 March order of restoration of the 1973 constitution represents an order for last rites for the 1973 constitution. The purpose of this kind of talk is to deliberately create alarm in people's minds regarding the new system, even though the elections of 25 and 28 February and the 2 March order restoring the constitution mark the beginning of restoration of a federal democratic parliamentary system in the country.

In these interviews the nation's president gave a true-hearted promise that he is honestly restoring the parliamentary system and that he is determined to protect the constitution. He acknowledged that in the past leaders of the country had gone back on their assurances to the country but he will never do that. By his actions he will prove to what extent he desires success of a parliamentary system based on the balance of powers between the president and the prime minister. He said one should not express baseless fears before seeing results of the new division of power.

The president said there is nothing exceptional in the additional powers granted to the president. These very powers were granted to the president in the 1956 constitution, these powers are included in the Indian constitution, and a demand for these amendments was placed before former Prime Minister Bhutto by the Pakistani National Alliance. If the constitutional amendments 2 March are compared to similar provisions in the 1956 constitution and the Indian constitution, then it will become clear even to lay intelligence that these amendments do not confer any exceptional powers and, in particular, no power has been granted that goes against the spirit of the parliamentary system. For this reason, President General Zia-Ul-Haq repeatedly emphasized that, while keeping intact the basic structure of 1973 construction, he has made only partial amendments designed to remove certain flaws from the constitution and there will remove any possibility of a future political crisis in the country. The misunderstandings that some politicians are spreading regarding amendments to the constitution will disappear when action begins on the new political system, and from its practical results people will come to recognize whose claims contain truth. Constitutional issues are not philosophical riddles that common men cannot understand. When an independent parliament comes into being and when a prime minister with authority runs the affairs of the country, it will deal a depth blow to assertions that the constitutional amendments have robbed parliament of its independence or that the prime minister has been made subordinate to the president. This is a futile controversy that some selfish politicians have started in order to alarm people, and there is not the slightest truth in their assertions.

12286

CSO: 4696/103

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

PAGARA SAYS PARTIES' REVIVAL 'IN ZIA'S INTEREST'

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, April 8: Pir Pagara, President of a faction of the defunct Muslim League, said here today that the revival of political parties was a more serious compulsion for Gen. Zia than for anybody else.

"The General needs the introduction of a party-based political system more than us, otherwise many Khwaja Safdars (an old Muslim Leaguer who defected from his party to assume the chairmanship of the nominated Majlis-i-Shoora) will continue to be born in future" Pir Pagara said while talking to newsmen here.

He said the President had held election under his own personal compulsions. "We don't want anything from him. It is for him to make requests to us," he said.

Pir Pagara said individual legislators in the assemblies would run in their own directions and to make them run together some way would have to be worked out.

Pir Pagara said he did not know President Zia's plans for the future or when Martial Law would be lifted. However, he said, he would continue to cooperate with the General Headquarters to normalise the situation. "We will not lay obstacles in their way but assist them as they (the GHQ) are not

familiar with the democratic process."

He said the only responsibility of the armed forces was the defence of the frontiers; it was a different matter that they had been "discharging our duties as well."

The PML chief hoped a day would come when the armed forces would feel tired of their additional responsibilities "and surrender before us."

Replying to a question, Pir Pagara said he was a rival to Gen. Zia, waiting for a match. "We have nothing to lose; it is he who stands to lose something," he said.

He said Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan had been made the Senate Chairman as he had exhausted the national exchequer. His new assignment was to exhaust the Senate. "Perhaps we will exhaust him first," he added.

Pir Pagara said Premier Junejo was the President's non-political and non-party man. He had not been recommended by anyone. Instead, the House had selected him.

About the possibility of his meeting with Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, set free just yesterday, Pir Pagara said: "We both belong to the same province and so may run into each other."

CSO: 4600/385

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

'BALANCE OF POWER' QUESTIONED AS MOTIVE FOR INDIA-PAKISTAN PEACE

Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan in the column "From Jumma Khan's Pen": "After All, Why Cannot Pakistan And India Live Peacefully?"]

[Excerpt] General Zia, in an interview, declared that he will prosecute the persons who hijacked the Indian airplane. He stated that further steps can also be taken to improve Indo-Pakistani relations. According to him, he has asked Rajiv Gandhi why, after all, Pakistan and India cannot live in peace.

There is no doubt of the fact that, by prosecuting the Indian hijackers according to the international standard of justice, the sequence of such absurd accusations as that Pakistan was involved in the agitation by the Sikhs or that Pakistan is helping the disruptionist Sikhs in some way will come to an end. Besides, it could also assist in improving Indo-Pakistani relations. The fact of the matter is that there is no way out for neighboring countries like Pakistan and India but to live in peace and tranquility. There is no reason for them to dislike living like good neighbors, especially when the Shimla Pact has been ratified by both the countries and both recognize its utilitarianism. The only reason why the climate of doubt and suspicion prevails is that both the countries have not demonstrated, to a great extent, total interest in acting upon this agreement. In order to continue the negotiations, they could not produce any such automatic machinery under which the talks could progress at fixed intervals.

One cause of increasing mistrust is the acquisition of highly sophisticated arms, which was first started by India and not Pakistan. When India commenced making large scale purchases of arms, the government of Pakistan never expressed any fear or concern, because according to General Zia's viewpoint, "every country has the right to strengthen its defense and to buy weapons of its own choice." India is not only itself manufacturing highly sophisticated weapons on a large scale, but it is buying weapons from other countries, too. Pakistan did not make a decision to replace its old weapons and to obtain highly sophisticated arms until the Soviet army gained entry into Afghanistan. On one hand, India was speedily enhancing its military strength, while on the other hand, the Soviet army had entered Afghanistan. Pakistan, therefore, was concerned about its

defense, and it bought highly sophisticated arms for its armed forces. These arms have neither been obtained free of charge, nor have they been given as a charity or bought at a discount price. Instead, they have been purchased at the market price. Since these arms have been purchased with an amount obtained as a loan, interest according to a fixed rate is also being paid on this loan.

As far as India is concerned, even if it does not increase its military strength, still, with the exception of China, its military strength is more than the collective military strength of all the neighboring countries. India does not have a border conflict with China. However, China has become an atomic power and is also a country with a larger population than India. Therefore, no matter how much stock it piles up of the legendary weapons, still India cannot achieve military superiority over China. Otherwise, too, during the past 20 years, China's policy with regard to India has never been threatening. The neighboring countries, therefore, are unable to understand, after all, against which country these billion dollars in arms will be utilized.

Similarly, it is impossible for Pakistan to acquire military superiority over India, or to secure strength to fight against the Soviet Union. India, in its various military divisions and according to its population, enjoys great superiority over Pakistan. Likewise, there is the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, a country with which we share our borders. When the entire Western world's forces, including the U.S. army, do not enjoy superiority over the Soviet Union forces, our superiority is totally out of question.

Behind this entire scenario, the amount of money India and Pakistan are spending for the purchase of arms is apparently being wasted. If the new weapons could establish the balance of power, their purchase, at least, could be understandable. If, however, the weapons obtained by India cannot protect it from Chinese attack, or if the weapons acquired by Pakistan cannot safeguard it from India or the Soviet Union, what wisdom is there in buying them? The only thing that will be gained from these weapons is that the enemy, too, will be inflicted with considerable loss, or else, a war could be prolonged. Therefore, India and Pakistan, which are developing countries, should not waste the hard earned income of their poor people on the purchase of arms. They should utilize the maximum possible portion of their financial resources to combat backwardness, poverty and illiteracy. They should struggle for self-support and try to get rid of their foreign loans.

9779

CSO: 4656/100

INDIA URGED TO INITIATE BETTER RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "India Should Set Example"]

[Text] President Zia-ul-Haq has once more referred to the efforts Pakistan has been making to normalize relations with India. But now, he thinks, it is India's duty as a big brother to set an example first. Pakistan made a no-war promise in connection with the Kashmir issue which is included in the Simla Pact. After that Pakistan offered to conclude a no-war treaty with India. Then Pakistan suggested that the two countries should make a pact about the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Pakistan started the campaign for making the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free region. Again Pakistan offered to make a pact with India about inspecting each other's atomic equipment, and further asked India to make a treaty with Pakistan about not using atomic weapons. But all these efforts to show goodwill have proved useless, and India continues to doubt Pakistan's sincerity. It calls our peaceful atomic program a secret preparation for building an atom bomb. It refuses to believe that we are only trying to improve our defense capabilities and, by saying that in helping this country they are jeopardizing their relations with India, tries to prevent those countries from helping us who think they are protecting their own interests in helping Pakistan. How long will Pakistan go on with its unilateral peace efforts? Then there is the Kashmir issue. India's refusal to have dialogues about Kashmir is a breach of the Simla Pact.

President Zia-ul-Haq is quite right in saying that Pakistan has done all that was in its power to prove its sincerity, goodwill and friendliness to India. Pakistan even accepted India's plan to have a joint commission on the occasion of making a no-war pact between the two countries. Pakistan joined the nonaligned countries in order to show that it is not a satellite of any super power. Pakistan has not allowed any foreign power to build military bases on its soil. When Sikh and Muslim minorities were mass-murdered in India (the carnage continues to this day) Pakistan, despite the Liaquat-Nehru pact, called it India's internal affair. If, in the face of these efforts at being friendly, India continues its attitude of being unfriendly to Pakistan, we cannot be held responsible for it.

The president of Pakistan has visited India more than once to improve relations with that country. He had more than one dialogue with Mrs Indira Gandhi to improve relations with Pakistan. He went to India again at her cremation ceremony and talked to her son and successor Mr Rajiv Gandhi about improving Pakistan-India relations. But Indian newspapers accused Pakistan of being involved in a spy scandal (which has now been denied by Mr Rajiv Gandhi). From this perspective, President Zia's statement that India, as big brother, should set an example of goodwill is quite proper. It means that now the ball is in India's court. Now it is India's chance to show goodwill in answer to Pakistan's friendliness. As President Zia has said, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi should try to find time to make a visit to Pakistan. Surely he can do so since he is going to visit not only the Soviets and the United States, but other Western countries as well. This visit will not only improve Pakistan-India relations, but will help in the peace efforts in South Asia and Asia itself. Not only the Pakistani public but the Indian public too will pray for the success of his visit to Pakistan. People of both our countries want to have peace and goodwill. They know, too, that love and friendship have got to be reciprocal.

12476

CSO: 4656/96

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS SAID TO PUSH PAKISTAN BACK TO 'ONE UNIT'

Karachi AMN in Urdu 10 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan in the column "From Jumma Khan's Pen": "Presidential System and 'One Unit' Should Not Be Tried Again"]

[Text] Those who discussed the proposed amendments in the constitution have overlooked one important point. Most of them have admitted that if these amendments are introduced, the 1973 constitution will practically come to an end, and a new constitution (which we may call the constitution of 1985) will come into existence. After the proposed amendments the system that will emerge has been given the name of "federal parliamentary" system of government, while the truth is that it will be neither federal nor parliamentary. In a federal system, it is the different provinces of the federation that choose their government, while in a parliamentary system, the leader of the house is the head of the government and is chosen by the members of the parliament. But after the proposed amendments Pakistan will automatically change into 'One Unit'. All the provinces will come under the direct control of Islamabad, because the president will not only appoint the prime minister, he will appoint the provincial governors, too. A provincial governor will not let the provincial assembly choose the chief minister, but will nominate anybody he likes with the prior permission of the president. Which means that the president will control the central as well as the provincial governments. This state of affairs will be a negation of federal and parliamentary systems. The formation of such a One Unit can lead to many problems.

The purpose of the said amendments is to make the center strong and limit the power of the provinces. This will repeat the mistake that the late Ayyub Khan made. He ignored the Pakistan Resolution and developed a presidential system that destroyed both the idea of the federation and the idea of the parliamentary system. This led to a sense of deprivation in the provinces and caused unrest. When Pakistan was created, Qaid-i-Azam became the first governor and Liaquat Ali Khan the first prime minister. It is claimed that the country is led by the political and religious policies of Qaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan. But after the proposed amendments the president will have more power than Qaid-i-Azam had and the prime minister will have much less power than Liaquat Ali Khan. After these amendments Pakistan will not have a federal parliamentary system. It will not have

the sort of government that Qaid-i-Azam and Liaqat Ali Khan wanted to give the country. You can call it a presidential system, and the federation will change into One Unit.

We have already experimented with the presidential system and the one unit, and the results have been disgusting. We should not try the same experiment in a new form. We should remember that the 1973 constitution was not made by one man or a party but was unanimously accepted by all the elected members of different political parties. These party leaders cooperated to draw up the constitution, hence it is wrong to change it in such a way that it will neither remain federal nor parliamentary. Instead of making such basic changes in the constitution it would be better to abolish it and enact a new one created by the present regime. (Changing the constitution is wrong, because all the elected members of the 1973 parliament took an oath to protect it. This regime can abolish the 1973 constitution as Ayyub Khan abolished the 1956 constitution. As for the representatives of the political parties that joined hands to make that constitution, they will be satisfied only if it is followed in its original form, since they made it for the good of the whole nation. The opposition in the previous government objected to the amendments that were not to its liking. The constitution says that amendments can be made by a two-thirds majority vote in the National Assembly. When the previous government tried to make amendments by two-thirds majority votes, the opposition party did not accept them. There was an uproar in the house and some members of the opposition party had to be taken out of the house by force. In fact, the opposition party wanted the constitution to remain unanimous, and did not want a change even by a majority vote. Under these circumstances, it is not easy to say how the elected members of the new National Assembly will react to the proposed amendments in the constitution. Not only the president, but the elected members of the house, will have to make very difficult decisions. The representatives should not say what they personally want, but rather what the nation wants. What does the majority of the people want? What is in the interests of the country? They should follow democratic traditions, instead of their own personal likes and dislikes. National interest should be kept supreme.

12476

CSO: 4656/101

CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION DEPLORED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Constitutional Amendment--Why This Bitter Pill"?]

[Text] General Zia-ul-Haq's amendments to the constitution are politically inappropriate but have to be accepted in order to make our political system move [towards a democratic rule]. However, we cannot help but pity our leaders who fail to learn from mistakes. Autocracy is like a balloon which bursts in the long run. Our rulers have always done whatever they wanted and their programs have been canceled when they left the political arena. We believe that the 1985 constitution presented by our president will lose its importance with his departure. The person who follows him will play his own harp while he is in power. This system will continue as long as a powerful political group that can control our leaders whims does not arise. As long as such a political ability is not attained, good and bad leaders will come and go and make our country a practice ground for their game plans.

We do not want to discuss the pros and cons or the motive behind the amendments proposed by the President. All we want to do is mention that the voters have only voted yesterday and their elected representatives have been forgotten even before they began to act. This is not only a great injustice, but also demonstrates a lack of foresight. It is especially painful, keeping in mind that the majority of the elected legislators want to cooperate with President Zia to establish a democratic government. President Zia's enemies did not even participate in these elections. The elected people want to work with the president to terminate the martial law regime. General Zia, however, did not show any trust in these friends and well-wishers and went ahead to declare constitutional amendments, on his own. The assemblies have the right to accept or reject these amendments, but the procedures for these amendments are very complicated. These procedures can be used to amend articles of the constitution that were passed by an elected assembly but not the one forced by an individual. Then, there is this sword of the martial law regime hanging over our heads. No constitutional amendments can be made as long as martial law is there. People have swallowed the bitter pill of these amendments in the hope that this sword will be removed from over their heads. These amendments have destroyed the amenable atmosphere that had resulted from the recent elections. Had the President refrained from making these amendments on his own, perhaps the elected assembly would have made some changes in the constitution to balance the powers of the

president and the prime minister. This would have made General Zia, the people and the elected assemblymen happy.

General Zia's insistence on appointing a prime minister curtails powers of the elected assembly. The President wants a prime minister who has the faith of the National Assembly. He should have let the National Assembly pick their own trusted leader. The President thinks that the elected assemblymen are not smart enough to know who should have their trust. Any man who is picked by the President will not be respected by either the elected officials or the people. It will be evident to everyone that this person did not become the prime minister by his qualities but was appointed by someone. The prime minister thus will never be able to win the respect that his office deserves.

These constitutional amendments are debatable, and a lot will be said in various camps about them. We should remember, however, that our goal is not to criticize or judge the constitution, but to salvage the elections held recently. We should try to build a long-lasting democracy. We should attain this goal by cooperation and not by political strife. If the martial law rulers take the upper hand for a while, we have to tolerate it since the martial law regime is on the way out. Let them try to strengthen their regime. They are bound to fail no matter how hard they try. The elected legislative groups will take over the country, but only if they keep their autonomy safe. Otherwise the wheels of history now geared toward a democratic rule may take a sharp turn backwards to another autocratic regime. If this happens, we will not be at square one but regress more than that. Therefore, it behooves us to facilitate implementation of our constitution.

We want to appeal to President Zia to let people openly express their feelings about the amendments he has made in the constitution. He should not censor communication media either. This will allow public opinion to come out in the open as to how they favor these amendments. The president should not insist on making it an uphill task for the elected legislatures to make amendments to the constitution. He should think about ways to make cooperation easy for these elected people.

7997

CSO: 4656/98

PAKISTAN

RESTORATION OF 1973 CONSTITUTION URGED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Restoration of Constitution"]

[Text] President Zia ul-Haq has decided to accept 252 out of the original 280 articles of the 1973 constitution on 10 March. He has also accepted another article minus two of its clauses. He has promised to include the remaining 27 articles and the two clauses within a short period. According to him, martial law rule will be abolished soon after the National Assembly is elected. He said that 10 March is an important day in our national history. It is true. For the first time since General Zia took over Pakistan's government on 5 July 1977, we are making a major stride toward achieving a democratic government on 10 March. We should call it an important day heralding a better future for our country. The importance of 10 March would have been enhanced if President Zia had agreed to restore all the articles of the 1973 constitution and announced the date for terminating martial law rule. We understand his referral to a national assembly in context with the martial law rule. No elected body will tolerate a martial law regime. Keeping this in view, had he announced specific dates for terminating the martial law rule and accepting the 1973 constitution in its entirety, the people of our country would have been overjoyed.

President Zia while discussing the installation of the constitution in parts, explained the role of the prime minister in the new administration. He said that the prime minister, like in any democratic country, will be the real leader of Pakistan. We should feel relieved by the president's remarks about this, but also wish that he had taken care of this issue in the constitution itself. Since the prime minister is responsible to the parliament, he would have to oversee national policies and implementation of various programs. Thus, if he is not the actual leader of the country then he will not be able to function very effectively. The President also discussed a special amendment to the constitution which would be implemented by courts after the martial law regime is removed.

Some people had expressed the fear that this new amendment is not a good idea, but after President Zia's explanation, this fear was removed. On 12 March, when the provincial assemblies are inaugurated, the martial law regime will still be there but the assemblies will be functioning according to the 1973 constitution. This will help them win respect [as democratic institutions].

President Zia also mentioned a new restriction on the Senate and said that this restriction is important for the Senate's prestige. We agree with the President that people who fail to win popular acclaim in provincial and national assemblies are not fit to run for the Senate. As for the position of the prime minister, President Zia said that he will appoint a person who has the support of the majority of National Assembly members. We can infer from this statement that he will appoint a person with majority support to this office. However, it would have been better if he had left to the National Assembly the choosing of a prime minister. This would have avoided forcing the new prime minister to win the confidence of the National Assembly within 2 months. Also, it would have made it easier for the president to appoint a prime minister based on desires of the National Assembly.

President Zia added in his speech that the members elected to the National Assembly appear to be moderate in their thinking. He congratulated Pakistanis for the zeal with which they participated in the elections. He said that several newspapers around the world commented favorably on this issue. It is too early to say that the elected legislative bodies are better than the appointed Majlis-e Shoora. However, we can say that our elected leaders at both provincial and national level are moderate, patriotic, democratic and true Muslims. They should be provided an opportunity to work in a free atmosphere. The independence of our national and provincial assemblies should be real. Therefore, we believe that the President should not delay accepting the 1973 constitution in its entirety and ending the martial law regime. Just as he has accepted most of the 1973 constitution, he can declare an end to martial law rule and acceptance of the original 1973 constitution. He can make our countrymen happy by returning to them the basic rights given them by the constitution and Islam. They have been waiting for these rights for almost 8 years. The president must be aware that political factionalism has already started among the newly-elected members. He can avoid these unhealthy political coalitions if he recognizes political parties before the National Assembly is inaugurated. This will help these political parties to emerge as a new power and strengthen our democracy. In the long run this strategy will help President Zia in implementation of democracy in our country.

7997

CSO: 4656/98

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION SEEN AS NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Mar 85 p 2

[Column: "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Text] Some people say that the amendments to the 1973 constitution which have been announced under General Zia's orders are appropriate and will result in only three changes. One is that a balance has been struck between powers of the president and the prime minister. Secondly, various provisions of the 1956 constitution have been included in the 1973 constitution. Thirdly, demands placed before the Bhutto government by the National Alliance have been included in the 1973 constitution by way of amendments. The other party is objecting to each and every amendment and, in its view, the procedure used to make amendments is not only unconstitutional, but the passing of these amendments will destroy the complete structure of the 1973 consensus constitution.

Balance symbolizes justice, and to balance commonly means to make equal. If the powers which have been given to the president as a result of amendments are placed in one side of the balance, that pan will tilt very heavily, whereas if the powers of the prime minister are placed in the other pan it will not tilt even slightly. In this situation one cannot understand claims of creating a balance.

If one accepts for a moment that the powers of the president and prime minister have somehow been equalized and balanced, then the question arises: How can the two be compatible? Can there be two kings in one country? If this is not possible then the very philosophy of balance is wrong. If in one country there cannot be two presidents or two prime ministers, then how can there be a president and a prime minister with equal powers?

Just as a country or a province is one unit, similarly the head of state has to be one. Family has one head, tribe has one chief, judiciary has one chief justice, army has one commander, police has one inspector general. A child cannot have two fathers or two mothers. One God, one prophet of Islam, one faith, one Koran and one caliph.

Everyone with understanding of democracy and politics knows that in a presidential system the president is the most powerful person, and in a

parliamentary system the prime minister is the most powerful. According to the announced amendments to the 1973 constitution, the president of the nation can appoint anyone prime minister by his own choice and without consulting the wishes of the National Assembly. He himself will be the supreme commander of the armed forces. He will appoint governors. He will appoint army commanders of armed forces. In turn the governors appointed by the president will appoint any person they like as chief minister of the province. Moreover, the president has the authority to dissolve the National Assembly any time he likes. In light of these powers, can any one doubt who will be the real head of the country and the government?

The plain fact is that anyone who has the authority to appoint the prime minister and to dissolve the National Assembly will not be subordinate to the prime minister. Rather, the prime minister will be subordinate to him. When the prime minister is subordinate to the president, then the most powerful figure will be the president. A system of government in which the president of a country has more powers than the prime minister cannot, according to any political principle, be called a federal parliamentary system. The 1973 constitution had envisaged a consensus federal parliamentary of government. If by altering this, the president is being given supremacy over the prime minister and the National Assembly or if a presidential system is being imposed, then in constitutional and legal language it cannot be said that amendments are being introduced to the constitution. Rather it will have to be accepted that a new constitution is being imposed in place of the old one.

When it is said that the 1973 constitution is not abrogated but only suspended and that it is being reinstated, then it implies that the 1973 constitution is intact in word and spirit and that it will be reinstated in the very shape in which it was unanimously passed or the shape in which it was suspended under martial law.

The constitution can be amended. It is not sacrosanct. But the purpose of an amendment cannot be to change the basic structure of the constitution. Nor can any amendment be introduced which goes against the spirit of the constitution and alters the very system of government.

If the nation's president has to be kept as the most powerful figure, then there is nothing shameful about it. In the past, the presidential system has been in force in our country, but this new system cannot be described as a federal parliamentary system. Nor can ridicule be poured on this system by describing the prime minister as head of government. Had the amendments made the provision that the president and governors could appoint only those persons as prime minister and chief ministers who had been elected by a majority of the houses, then the prime minister and the chief ministers could have maintained some sort of stature. Similarly, if in dissolving the National Assembly the advice of prime minister was laid down as mandatory, then it would not have been necessary for the prime minister to remain as a puppet in the hands of the president.

According to another constitutional amendment, if a bill, after having been passed by the National Assembly in accordance with the constitution, is sent to the president for signature, he may not allow it to become law but may return it to the assembly for reconsideration. But if the National Assembly again returns the bill to the president in its original form, then the president will be obliged to sign it. This provision is not in consonance with the dignity of elected representatives of the National Assembly. If this procedure is adopted, then as soon as the president returns a bill to the National Assembly for reconsideration, a situation of confrontation will develop between the president and the National Assembly. And when the president finds that the National Assembly has, against his wishes, again adopted the same bill in its original form, then who will stop him from dissolving the National Assembly?

On Sunday, March 10, General Zia reinstated the 1973 constitution, including his amendments, but keeping suspended 27 vital sections of the original constitution. On the face of it, this reinstatement is a very important step toward restoration of the constitution and democracy. But in reality, announcement of reinstatement of the constitution in an amended form and lacking basic provisions can be of no use to the country or the nation. This is so because fundamental rights have been kept suspended. Political prisoners have not been released nor have they been given rights to approach courts. Military courts have not been abolished and even the date for lifting martial law has not been fixed. In a country which is under martial law, where military courts are in operation, where high courts and supreme courts are not empowered to issue writs and injunctions and where fundamental rights remain suspended, reinstatement of most of the constitution or part of it carries no importance.

Not lifting martial law, not reinstating fundamental rights, not releasing political prisoners, keeping courts powerless, continuing restrictions on political activity even after election results have become known is not appropriate. Those candidates who took part in the general elections and their like-minded comrades may welcome the partial restoration of the constitution, but one cannot expect a favorable reaction among democratic countries.

12286

CSO: 4656/104

PAKISTAN

CONCERN VOICED OVER 'WORSENING POWER CRISIS'

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 5

[Text]

THE power crisis in the country has taken another dip as illustrated by the current spell of large-scale, unscheduled loadshedding. The trouble had been brewing for the past few years but now the shortage has assumed acute proportions. Although the entire country has been affected, the impact of frequent loadshedding has been felt the most in the Punjab where industrial production has been adversely hit. If power supply is not enhanced soon, 3,000 industrial units in the province might have to be closed down or production curtailed to a point leading to the possible retrenchment of an estimated 50,000 workers. The latest round of loadshedding is attributed to the reported fall in the water level in the reservoirs of various dams which generate hydel power. This appears to be unusual, especially at a time when snow has begun to melt in the catchment areas. In any case, WAPDA owes a full public explanation for the current spell of loadshedding which is causing untold suffering to the consumers. In the absence of full information on the current energy situation and the loadshedding schedule, the people are often left gues-

sing about the flow and shut-off of power supply. Parts of Karachi, too, have lately been experiencing periods of unannounced loadshedding.

What adds to a feeling of concern on this score is the absence of visible efforts to come to grips with the crisis within a reasonable time-frame. The urgency of taking special measures for increasing power generation sufficiently in the shortest possible time does not seem to have been grasped fully by the concerned authorities. The decline in the growth rate of energy generation began in the mid-1970s. But no serious effort was made to step up electricity production to meet the growing demand. As a result, the country may have to put up with power deficit for the next decade, or more, with attendant economic losses. It is inexcusable that the Government planners and bureaucrats who were responsible for framing and executing policies and lining up funds for enhanced power production have failed to live up to their responsibilities in this critical area.

Energy being a principal growth factor, the authors of the nation's First Five-Year

Plan fully underscored the importance of producing enough power to keep pace with the demand. This policy approach of the pioneers of our economic planning was obviously overlooked by the subsequent generation of Western-oriented planners and their political mentors. The basic sectors which constitute the infrastructure for development were neglected, energy being one of them. Even the current Sixth Five-Year Plan has failed to provide an effective answer to the growing energy shortage. The plan projects that by 1988, only 2,355 MW generating capacity will be created. Even if this target is met, it will not be sufficient to eliminate power shortage which is estimated to persist beyond the year 2000. This is the worst prospect a nation can face in the modern industrial age. The problem calls for bold and radical solutions, especially a perspective plan for a substantial increase in energy production, effective enforcement of conservation measures and installation of a string of thermal power producing units to relieve the immediate squeeze of the continuing energy shortage.

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

EMERGENCE, REVIVAL OF POLITICAL PARTIES SAID INEVITABLE

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Sultan Ahmed]

[Text]

POLITICAL parties are a must for the new setup, says Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo, but their revival, he has added, is a matter of time.

President Zia-ul-Haq has been persuaded to admit that a parliamentary democracy cannot function without an opposition party, but there have to be two parties, not 50 as it is now, he asserts.

Meanwhile, an official spokesman has reiterated there is no place for an opposition party in Islamic polity.

But Gen. Zia as well as his new Premier agree that the role of parties, their permissible number and the future of the parties banned now should be settled by the National Assembly. And that certainly would take a long debate. And despite the strong language employed by MNAs to deplore the viciousness of the new groups and to stress the need for political parties it is not obvious when the NA would debate the issue. The next session is to be the budget session. But it can be presumed that the slow phasing out of martial law and gradual re-emergence of parties may move in tandem.

Many options

The 237 directly and indirectly elected members of the NA, who came in through the non-party exercise with their varied views in regard to the future role of parties, have a variety of options. The cau-

tion or uneasiness of many of them spring from the belief that they might not have survived the elections if held on party basis and with no parties barred, and no leader disqualified.

What would the leaders of the banned parties do when the process of their release initiated now is completed? The MRD parties had considered the possibilities of coming closer, and even forming an electoral alliance to contest free elections whenever held. And Miss Benazir Bhutto has spoken of a new post-election strategy without spelling that out. But initially they would wait to see how the new cabinets and assemblies perform, and what kind of opposition groups emerge in the assemblies after the Federal and provincial cabinets are completed. They will want to see whether the new system collapses because of its internal contradictions, parallel martial law and civilian systems, and if there is no explosion, there is a real implosion.

Whether they will wait to see all that for three or four months, as Mr. Khurshid Kasuri of Tehrik-i-Istiqal says, and longer remains to be seen. But a clear picture may not emerge before October or November when a session of the National Assembly may follow the budget session in which no no-confidence motions can be moved.

The fact is that the success and failure of the new setup and the MRD are inter-linked in the reverse order. The more the present system succeeds, the more will be the setback of the MRD and more

its failure, the greater will be the success of the MRD. This situation comes as a challenge to Gen. Zia, the new Cabinets and assemblies. If martial law retreats fast enough, real civilian rules returns quick enough along with fundamental rights and writ jurisdiction of the high courts, the present setup may find greater acceptance in the country and the MRD may be politically handicapped instead of being physically banned. We may have a see-saw situation in which when one party is up at one end the other will be down at the other end. But the first moves are with the new official setup.

The number of persons who assert that an opposition party is un-Islamic is handful, including Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari. If they did not have a formal opposition party in Arabia 14 centuries ago, that does not mean we can't have one now. It is a matter of scale too. If Arabia had a few lakhs of people then, we have 95 million now. So if we do not want to be organised on the basis of tribes, as in the past, we have to make way for large parties. It is more like the large States which have a federal setup while the small ones are unitary states, whether they are capitalistic or communist. Numbers and area, race, language and history matter in politics, even when we have the highest regard for Islam.

"No Government can be long secure without formidable opposition," said Benjamin Disraeli, Tory Prime Minister of Britain in 1841. And as early as 500 B.C. Heraclitus said in ancient Greece: "Opposition brings concord. Out of discord comes the fairest harmony."

Democratically established governments with sustained popular backing have little to fear the opposition. While they can ascertain their popularity daily through the Press, if they have a free Press, real Gallup Polls may help them further. They can ascertain the popular will and correct themselves after by-elections and honest referenda, when necessary. And finally, they can opt for general elections earlier than scheduled.

Popular backing

In truly democratic countries there are no permanent opposition parties. The Opposition leaders of

today become the rulers of tomorrow. Opposition parties in such environments become responsible and realistic for fear of being voted into office and asked to fulfil the impossible they had promised. And wrong policies and promises can make the opposition parties to be rejected by the voters again and again. Hence the margin of difference between ruling and opposition parties in Western democracies is small. And in the U.S. they don't call the Democratic Party as the opposition party but simply by its name.

Modern Governments are strong and often want to remain well entrenched in office. How does a real democratic choice become available unless the system offers an alternative in the form of an opposition party? How do we get alternative policies and programmes to those which a Government follows without an effective opposition party? Certainly small groups fishing for offices cannot offer that. And individuals cannot be expected to come up with credible manifestoes on large issues and get them implemented when they are one among too many.

The basic problem in Pakistan has over the years been to regard opposition to the Government as opposition to the country. Hence Government functionaries are quick to dub opposition leaders as unpatriotic, anti-national and finally denounce them as traitors.

Too often fear of the opposition parties is a reflection of the sense of insecurity in Governments born of their own weaknesses and failings. And that fear often leads to suppression of the opposition, then of all free expression, and finally persecution. "Persecution — East and West" — by Cosmos Desmond shows how ruthless Governments of the East and West act alike, and how Islamic States can be as high-handed in suppressing freedom and dissent as communist States are, even while they abhor communism and assert that sovereignty belongs to Allah and all are equal under Him.

Ruling parties in Pakistan have seldom survived elections. And it remains to be seen whether the Muslim League has really returned to office after 30 years. A major reason why they resort to unfair elections when in office is not only the fear of losing office but also being treated very badly by their suc-

cessors. So they even amend the constitutions to make the illegal legal or repudiate their own constitutions, as Ayub Khan and Yahya did.

Technology

So if we have no parties, we will have groups which merge and re-merge. Even in one-party system there have been groups, whether that be in China or the Soviet Union. The fact is that if man is a social animal, he is also a political animal. So if he needed to be a member of his tribes, castes and other groupings earlier, he needs to be part of a political party now.

Technology has made the modern State far too powerful. If the citizens have radio and TV sets, the radio and TV stations are owned and manipulated by the Government. If a citizen reads newspapers, too many newspapers are owned or controlled by the Government. And if the citizen has a car, the Government has armoured cars. And if the people now have telephones to talk to each other, the Government has the equipment to tape all that talk and keep in store. Books like "The Naked Society" by Vance Packard, and the new "Politics of Privacy" illustrate vividly the helplessness of the individual in modern state. In such a society we do need a strong opposition, and we must have it for our survival.

A good party system needs a free Press. The parties in Parliament and the Press constantly inform each other, and make themselves stronger and wiser. The action and reaction between them is constant, and that is what makes parliamentary debates meaningful and their decisions effective. But access to information for the Press has been steadily diminishing in Pakistan, while the Government expects the Press to accept whatever it is told as the fact. But, then, control over the Press and denial of authentic information and disformation go together.

There cannot be freedom of the Press without the currently suspended fundamental rights. And those rights cannot be had without the now denied writ jurisdiction of the high courts. Evidently the whole bunch hangs together. Parliament, political parties and the Press have to hang tough now. The long jammed doors have opened a little. How long it will take to throw them ajar remains to be seen.

NEW POLITICAL SETUP SAID NOT INDICATIVE OF CHANGE

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Ghazi Salahuddin]

[Text]

CAN the new National Assembly deliver what most Pakistanis want — a genuine participation in power, human dignity and social justice? Have we been witness this week to the launching of a new era? Is this the moment of renovation of hope?

I am not attempting an answer to these questions. There are certainly doubts in the minds of many people whether what they see is real. A new Prime Minister has taken oath and been unanimously approved by the National Assembly. But Martial Law continues. Some political leaders and many, many political activists are in jail. The Constitution has just been amended drastically by the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

There are those who insist that even non-party elections boycotted by the major political forces can lead to meaningful developments. Others are very sceptical about what the assemblies will be able to achieve and argue that the political crisis could deepen.

In any case, we are confronted with possibilities of change. If there is hope, it must be reflected in how we feel about prospects in the immediate future. It is like weather. You do not need an expert to tell you what it is like. If you are not trapped in an artificial environment, you should know.

This, I suppose, is the test. You should know. You should feel it in your bones. Do you see things going

in the right direction? Are you hopeful about improvements in what you think are our major areas of concern?

I suggest a simple exercise. This has been a very crucial week. Newspapers have been full of reports, comments and speculation. New promises have been made. New initiatives have been announced. So how has this week affected your personal views, experiences and encounters with your friends? Recollect your thoughts. Retrace your activities of the week. What is the picture that emerges?

No, I am not talking about politics. You need not have definite views about Pir of Pagara or the future of the MRD. It is your life and your problems that are important. You should know if something has happened to make you feel more secure, more hopeful, more confident about future. Perhaps nothing has changed, for individual lives are not readily touched by social readjustments. Yet, what kind of drift do you sense — if you ever have time to ponder such questions?

For most people, this week has been dominated by education. From nursery to post-graduate classes, this is time for admissions. We know what has happened to education in eight years of Martial Law — and the state of affairs has remained dismal since the beginning. No new era can be born without initiating revolutionary changes in this domain.

I do not, of course, mean that the beginning of whatever kind that was made in Islamabad on Satur-

day should magically affect the state of education. It might be enough to learn that the new Prime Minister listed education as one of the national priorities. But the evidence of what he intends to do about it should be available within months.

Meanwhile, let us remember that education will be the chief measure of our political freedom and rights. The present scene is so depressing that I often hesitate to write about it. We are one of the most illiterate countries in the world and what education we have lacks purpose and meaning. We always talk about a glorious future and we are indifferent to our children.

I have had some personal experience of the problems of admissions in the prestigious schools — just a few in a city of seven million. I have some idea of what it is like in the villages and little towns. I also know about the state of the higher education. And the seed of all this is governmental callousness and social oppression in real terms.

Where do we go from here when the new members of the assemblies also seem to be defenders of the status quo? What will be the new education policy? We are sure to have one as we had others after every "change". What is certain is

that we cannot change the state of our education unless we are willing to alter the very nature of our society.

So we should thus wait not only for the lifting of the Martial Law. We will not have political freedom merely because the political leaders have been released, some of whom who do not belong to the feudal class have been in jail for years. People do not achieve a sense of power by just reading political stories in newspapers.

There is hope in the fact that even the middle-class is now reduced to despair over the growing corruption of our acquisitive society. The well to do are being alienated from their own children who are searching for a cause in a society that has every thing to set right.

I found some evidence of this at a symposium held on Friday at St. Patrick's School on the problems of adolescents and their parents. It was sponsored by Karwan-i-Hayat and presided over by Dr. Zaki Hasan. It led to interesting discussion about the generational gulf that now exists in our families but I looked at it as a vote of no confidence against the parents by perceptive young people. The question is: will the young be able to change it all?

CSO: 4600/376

COMMENTARY SAYS POLITICAL STRUCTURE HAS FORM, NO SUBSTANCE

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Ahsan Ali Khan]

[Text]

ALTHOUGH, following the non-party polls, national and provincial assemblies have come into being, the Prime Minister has assumed office and cabinets are in the making, there is an uncertainty about the ushering in of democracy. The amendments to the 1973 Constitution have taken the soul of democracy out of the emerging political structure. The form is changing, but so far there are no signs of change in substance.

Nevertheless, it is heartening to see a consensus developing, within and outside the assemblies, on demands for the lifting of martial law and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

While almost all shades of political opinion desire restoration of democracy, there are differences on the means to achieve the goal. The members of assemblies, by and large, are in favour of gradual restoration of democracy through cooperation with the regime in the working of whatever institutions it has provided. On the other hand, the MRD parties are sticking to their original stand i.e. lifting of martial law, revival of the 1973 Constitution in its original Federal and parliamentary form, restitution of the powers of the judiciary, immediate release of all political prisoners and restoration of fundamental rights, including the revival

of political parties and freedom of the Press.

Three factors

The success of assembly members in their efforts for gradual restoration of democracy will depend on three factors: first, the willingness of the martial law regime to transfer power; second, the courage of assembly members to take a firm stand on basic issues, such as lifting of martial law, revocation of constitutional amendments, particularly those which are incompatible with the Federal and Parliamentary system of democracy; and, third, the magnitude of the MRD's pressure from outside for the restoration of democracy.

If the regime does not lift martial law or after lifting it continues to rule through manipulation of ministers and assemblies and President's discretionary prerogatives, it would confirm the opposition's suspicion that the regime's real motive in building a structure of elected (but partyless) institution was only to associate feudal and neo-rich elements as junior partners of military-civil oligarchy in the exercise of power. In case power is not transferred, the assembly members will have to take a firm stand to justify the trust the people have reposed in them. If they fail to do so and prefer to adopt a docile attitude for reasons of personal gains and favours, the assemblies will stand discredited.

Assembly members

The assembly members are likely to be divided into the following three categories:

(1) The pro-regime members. It is they who are likely to be chosen as Ministers.

(2) The floating members. They would like to be on the right side of the powers-that-be to serve their personal interests. The disgruntled ones of this group may join the opposition or remain in the middle for a better bargain.

(3) The opposition members. This group will consist of politically conscious members. Their stand on constitutional issues will be similar to that of the MRD. Although they will be in a minority, their voice will carry a great deal of weight, as it will receive support from a cross-section of the people outside the assemblies. At some stage close collaboration may develop between the MRD and members of the opposition in the assemblies. Significantly, no MRD leader has questioned the representative character of assembly members, although it is pointed out that had the elections been on a party basis, the results would have been different.

The MRD parties deserve praise for their principled stand, as it will serve as a beacon-light for democratic forces in the country. Their decision to boycott the partyless elections was not an error. Had they not given the call for boycott, their principles would have been compromised. Failure does not convert a "right" into "wrong" nor success transforms a "wrong" into "right". The right is glorious even

in defeat.

Mr. M.K. Gandhi's 'quit India' movement was ruthlessly suppressed in 1942, but it served the purpose of making the common man to wake up fully to the ignominy of colonial domination and thus made a great contribution to the success of the struggle for independence.

The MRD's call for boycott was not a total flop as is made out by the official media. The call was not fully responded to by the electorate, because the MRD had all the odds and handicaps against it while the regime used all the levers and instruments of power to ensure the failure of boycott. It was an unequal fight.

Handicaps

However, one of the handicaps which the parties must look into is their organisational weakness. It was this weakness that reduced the boycott call to only a passive moral appeal. The partyless elections have, in a way, done some good to the organisations of the MRD parties. The opportunist indisciplined and unfaithful elements who participated in elections as candidates have been purged from their ranks.

What the MRD parties, and for that matter all political parties in Pakistan, now need are strong and grassroot organisations. Well organised political parties will be in a better position to make the assembly members accountable to the people and to mobilise public opinion for the restoration of democracy.

PRIMARY EDUCATION PROJECT PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, March 27: The Government is launching a comprehensive primary education programme in September this year which will help improve the quality of education in the country, official sources told 'Dawn' on Wednesday.

The total cost of the project has been estimated at 74 million dollars. Negotiations were in advance stage with the World Bank which has shown willingness to finance 80 per cent of the cost (59 million dollars) of the project. Agreement to this effect is likely to be signed by May.

The project envisages construction of 6000 class-rooms, covering 14000 schools in Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan. Allocation of class rooms to provinces are Sind 3000, NWFP 2000 and Baluchistan 1000.

The overall goals of the project would be, in quantitative terms, the enrolment in primary school of every child in the provinces, by the end of programme, and the reduction of drop-out to an insignificant level.

The programme will help develop a district primary education authority, ultimately amalgamating into the formal system without loss of effectiveness.

For the first time an exercise will be conducted to introduce instructional materials and learning modules, according to the needs of the schools, curriculum development,

supervision, the in-service training of teachers and improved teaching in the class room.

Additional 2350 assistant teachers, 80 assistant and subdivisional education officers will be appointed apart from increasing the number of learning coordinators from 166 to 846.

The syllabus for the primary classes up to five will include Urdu, Mathematics, General Science and language of the respective province.

The Chief of Primary Education Project, Prof Laeeq Ahmad Khan, said that the programme will have a very significant impact on the overall education system, not only improving the quality of education but also expanding the base of primary education.

A similar programme will also be launched in the Punjab, Azad Kashmir, Federal Capital territory, Federally administered tribal areas and Northern Areas next year.

The Five-Year programme has been prepared in light of the findings and recommendations of the Fourth Education Project (1979-84), contained in a draft comprehensive report.

Participation rate of children at primary schools under the Sixth Five-Year-Plan has been targetted to increase from 50 per cent in 1982-83 to 75 per cent in 1987-88.

Thus as much as five million additional children will be provided with primary education.

Meanwhile, the initial indicators are that the provision of physical facilities to the educational system presents an extremely unsatisfactory picture. Quite a sizeable proportion of schools possess no building worth the name. Of the schools which do possess some kind of a shelter, there are fears that only about 35 per cent of them may be having some kind of a satisfactory arrangement, another 30 to 35 per cent may be in need of major repairs while the remaining 30 per cent may be housed in totally or partially dilapidated structures in need of replacement.

Most of the girls' primary schools are located in private houses not specifically constructed to serve as schools. In the Punjab alone, it is rumoured that there are as many as 23,000 shelterless schools, nearly 40,000, have either to be built to provide the necessary accommodation or rebuilt to replace the existing shambles. This indicates the great backlog of school buildings in need of construction which has got to be cleared.

The Sixth Plan envisages establishing 52,000 new schools to cater to increasing enrolments. If this backlog of 40,000 schools is also added to it, the total figure jumps to 92,000.

PAKISTAN

AGRICULTURAL REFORM SAID KEY TO END RURAL STAGNATION

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 p 5

[Editorial]

[Text]

IT IS reassuring that Prime Minister Junejo has lately taken note of the flight of population from the rural to the urban areas and the crisis it has begotten. Urban population in Pakistan has been growing at a fast rate — more on account of a rising influx of rural migrants than as a result of normal population increases. Thus, the ratio of people living in cities has gone up from 15 per cent at the time of independence to 30 per cent today. There are 28 cities in Pakistan with a population of more than 100,000 each — three with over a million people — when in 1951 there were only nine of that size. This pace of urbanisation has brought serious social, economic and civic problems in its wake as the pressure on housing, water supply, sanitation, health services, educational facilities, employment and social living has mounted tremendously, converting some cities into veritable slums, some others into chaotic, overcrowded conurbations bursting at the seams. Obviously, the most practical approach would be to identify the factors which have made rural migration at this rate inevitable and draw up a strategy to tackle the problem effectively. Mr Junejo seems to be aware that the major causes of this phenomenon are economic and social. The shrinking employment opportunities and the

poor quality of life in the villages on account of the Government's failure to initiate a planned process of socio-economic development in the rural areas have created the "push and pull factors" which lead to a large-scale exodus from impoverished villages.

In that context, measures aimed at social and economic regeneration of the villages, as proposed by the Prime Minister, are most appropriate. The provision of better housing, sanitation and water supply, minimum schooling and health-care infrastructure and facilities for recreation and social and cultural activities would not only improve the quality of life in the villages; it would also induce large sections of prospective migrants to stay back, especially if their motivation in wanting to move to cities is primarily the promise of a better living condition. How little has the Government done in this area, in spite of repeated pledges, is clear from the record of its achievement in the first two years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. With the exception of roadbuilding — where 47 per cent of the target has been met — the rate of achievement has been poor in most other sectors. For instance, in the areas of water supply and sanitation — two most important services — only 18 per cent and 11 per cent, respectively, of the Plan targets

have been realised. Rural electrification, specially mentioned by Mr Junejo and without doubt a principal catalyst of progress, has not made much progress either: only 27 per cent of the target having been achieved. As for education and health, only seven per cent of the number of primary schools planned and 28 per cent of the Basic Health Units have been set up so far. This does not inspire much hope for an accelerated pace of socio-economic development of the rural areas, which is precisely what is called for if the flood tide of emigration is to be stemmed.

Another major factor behind the phenomenon is the widespread problem of unemployment and underemployment in the countryside. The Prime Minister is right when he speaks of the need for building up an industrial base in small towns to generate employment there. We have, on earlier occasions, also suggested that agro-industries, handicraft centres and other small manufacturing units could be set up close to rural areas to provide job opportunities for the 70 per cent of the population living in villages. The importance of this cannot be overstated. But a factor in any major scheme for regeneration of the rural economy is the low ratio of land utilisation in Pakistan. Barely 25 per cent of the total area of the country is cropped. Not surprisingly, the land under cultivation is unable to support the rapidly growing population of the rural areas. This is to be attributed to the virtually unchanged pattern of land holding in the country — only 2.5 per cent of landowners own 24 per cent of the total farmland. It

need hardly be pointed out that the anachronistic land tenure system exists because of the feudal dominated administration which has a vested interest in it and is bent on preserving it even at the expense of a more equitable pattern of economic progress. It is disappointing that even Mr Junejo has omitted to mention this as an obstacle in the way of breaking rural stagnation. But the plain truth is that the problem of low utilisation cannot be resolved except by changing this pattern. Studies the world over have clearly established that smaller farms cultivated by landowners themselves make for more intensive cropping and, consequently, give a higher yield. Statistics for Pakistan also show that all the land in the small farms (under one hectare) is cropped while only half the area of the large holding (60 hectares and above) is utilised. Yet no government has made a serious effort to break up the large landed estates owned by absentee landlords and redistribute the resumed land among small tillers. While the land reforms of 1972 and 1977 were never implemented fully, this Government, too, has at no stage made any firm commitment on this score. The point to emphasise is that without genuine agrarian reform, it is unlikely that any significant change of the kind in the rural structure that Mr Junejo has indicated can really be brought about. Simply improving the social infrastructure in the villages or providing some employment outlets in small towns will not solve all the problems of stagnation and low employment in the countryside.

PAKISTAN

JATOI SAYS PPP TO MEET SOON

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 8: The Chairman of the executive committee of the defunct Pakistan People's Party, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, has said he would soon convene a meeting of the party to review the political situation.

Talking to newsmen at his residence on Monday, Mr Jatoi said he had consulted the Party's secretary-general, Gen (retd) Tikka Khan, on the subject.

He said the PPP was reorganised on the instructions from the Acting Party chief, Miss Benazir Bhutto.

When asked whether his party would adopt a new strategy following the completion of the elections at all levels, Mr Jatoi said he was of the view that the MRD strategy to boycott the February elections was successful. He did not agree with a suggestion that the boycott of the elections by MRD parties had failed. He said their (MRD leaders) point of view had proved correct,

and only time would make others accept it.

He said he had established contacts with political leaders to review the political situation of the country in the post-election period. He said he had meetings with Khwaja Khairuddin and Prof Ghafoor Ahmed on Monday and planned to meet Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, chief of the defunct Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan on Tuesday.

When asked whether his party would participate in the by-elections of the local bodies, Mr Jatoi said he could not express his opinion at this stage. He said he would consult his colleagues in the PPP and MRD and would take a collective decision.

Mr Jatoi, and Mr Mahmoodul Haq Usmani, a leader of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Khairuddin group) were released from detention here late on Sunday night.

CSO: 4600/385

PAKISTAN

PROJECTS REQUIRING FOREIGN AID IDENTIFIED

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 Business Supplement p I

[Text]

KARACHI, April 8: About 100 projects relating to Pakistan's industrial sector, which require external assistance have been identified by the Committee on Industrial Development Review of Pakistan, comprising Pakistani and United Nations experts.

These proposals have been prepared strictly for the projects, in which Pakistan is unable to provide the expertise and equipments from within the country.

According to Mr Reza H. Syed, Managing Director of Investment Advisory Centre of Pakistan (IACP), who is also the chairman of the committee, a systematic approach has been adopted by the committee, through which the vertical areas of priority were identified consisting of agriculture-based, engineering goods, chemical and pharmaceutical, fertiliser, cement and small-scale industries.

Horizontally, all relevant Ministries, research and development and training institutes, such as IACP, PCSIR and PITAC, which have broad-based application to all industrial sectors were consulted.

4 types

Four types of projects have been developed, based on discussions with the industrial sectors, both private and public, as well as relevant institutions:

Firstly, such projects have been identified which need to be established a new. For example, a high-tech research institute, to be established under the Ministry of Science and Technology, has been

proposed, which will deal with such sophisticated technologies as fibre optics, laser technology, and digital communication.

Secondly, proposals have been made to expand the scope and facilities of existing units. For example, it has been proposed that the UNIDO-assisted Preventive Maintenance Development Centre should be expanded to provide computerised maintenance system, which would require equipment as well as training of Pakistani experts abroad. The object of expansion of this Centre is to extend facilities to the entire private sector in Pakistan, as well as assist other friendly Asian countries.

Technical aid

Thirdly, one-time technical assistance has been requested for the common benefit of the entire industry. For instance, the ship-breaking industry would like external assistance in the selection of another site for ship-breaking purpose which may provide them longer working hours, dock facilities, better qualified and trained labour. This will require expertise in soil studies, oceanography, etc.

Fourthly, specialised seminars have been proposed, which may provide broad-based benefits. For example, IACP has proposed a six to eight weeks' seminar on the modern techniques of projects identification, preparation, evaluation and implementation.

This training will be of use to consultants, and also to planners, con-

cerned Government officials, trade associations, chambers of commerce and industry and private entrepreneurs, who can benefit from it.

It has been decided that the above-mentioned proposals will be submitted to the Ministry of Industries, indicating objectives, benefits and full justification of each proposal for examining and evaluating them and assigning priorities, according to national objectives and plans. The final "package" can then be taken up by UNIDO for external assistance, either on multilateral or bilateral basis.

Wrap-up meeting

It may be mentioned here that a wrap-up meeting of the Committee was convened in Islamabad on April 4 under the chairmanship of Additional Secretary, Ministry of Industries, which was attended by officials of the Ministry of Industries, and its affiliate organisations, Ministry of Economic Affairs,

Ministry of Production and the representatives of UNDP, UNIDO, FAO and UNESCO.

The details of the vertical and horizontal organisations consulted by the Committee are: Agro-industries; milk processing and milk products processing, canning and dehydration of fruit and vegetables, rice milling, edible oil/ghee, refined sugar, livestock, poultry and poultry products, fish processing.

Textiles: cotton ginning, synthetic and woollen textile, hosiery and hand-knitted products, carpets, jute.

Leather industry: tanning, footwear, garments and industries based on slaughter-house wastes.

Engineering: basic metal, metal products other than machinery and transport equipment, machinery other than electrical, transport equipment.

Chemical, pharmaceutical, fertiliser and cement units.

Small-scale industry: surgical instruments, marble onyx, sports goods, carpets and handicrafts.

CSO: 4600/385

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

TECHNOLOGY CENTERS FOR EACH PROVINCE PLANNED**Karachi DAWN in English 9 Apr 85 Business Supplement p I****[Text]**

LAHORE, April 8: With contributions from the business community the Federal Government is planning to establish centres of excellence for technology in every Province for imparting higher education to private sector employees.

A four-member Federal Inspection Commission, headed by Brig (Retd) Sabir Hussain Qureshi, has been charged with the task of meeting representatives from the private sector to work out the feasibility for creating these centres, which will be associated with the various universities of technology and engineering.

Financing

The Federal Government proposes that these institutions should be financed out of the workers' welfare fund, instituted in 1971. Industrial and commercial organisa-

tions, whose monthly incomes exceeded Rs 100,000, were supposed to contribute two per cent of their incomes to this fund. There are 12,000 registered organisations in this income bracket.

The Federal Commission will also devise ways and means for the better collection and utilisation of this fund.

Meeting

The Commission, directly answerable to the President, is scheduled to meet here on April 15.

According to official estimates, huge funds in the shape of moveable and immoveable property, Government securities, including Prize Bonds, Defence Savings Certificates and NIT units, are lying unutilised without any benefit according to the workers or their families.

CSO: 4600/385

GREED, SELF-INTEREST, NOT PRINCIPLES, MOTIVATE ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Group Formation In Assemblies"]

[Text] The political crisis and calamity that we are facing following the non-political elections is due to the numerous small groups in the assembly, and even these tiny groups are not stable because their origin lies in self-interest and greed for ministerial positions. In this context we welcome the statement by Pir Pagaro's son, Pir Subgat Allah Rashdi, a member of the Sind assembly, that Jamait-e-Islami and the Muslim League will cooperate with each other and this partnership of two big political groups will pave the way for strong democracy. It would be good if Pir Subgat Allah would ally himself with both the Islamic System and National Alliance groups of Jamait-e-Islami. This would create a wider alliance. But whichever alliance is created it should be on the basis of principles. At present the situation is that, in the words of Pir Subgat Allah Rashdi, every second member is a candidate for minister or chief minister. If greed for ministerial posts is the motivation, then the unending process of mergers and breakups will continue, and political stability will not be realized. That is why what the assemblies need today is the formation of such alliances and groups as are based on principles. Otherwise the assemblies will become a laughing stock and the making and breaking of ministries will become a common sight. Eventually such assemblies will be sent packing and this opportunity for democracy which has been granted us will have been wasted, and a new dictatorship will overwhelm us with a renewed vigor and a new ruthlessness.

Pir Subgat Allah Rashdi has stated that it is difficult for the government to control elected assemblies because there is a wide difference between the nominated councils and the elected assemblies. He said salvation of the country and the nation lies in giving the elected representatives a free hand and ensuring that the ministers chosen should not be powerless as before but should enjoy real authority. If assemblies do not get power, there will have to be elections once again. Every political person will agree with these opinions of Pir Subgat Allah. The fact is that the country needs democracy and not a stunt or a farce in the name of democracy. If attempts are made to create such a farce, then everyone including the organizers, the participants and the spectators of this farce will meet destruction, and it will have been demonstrated that what is more harmful and more destructive than dictatorship is bogus democracy.

DISQUALIFICATION OF DEFEATED CANDIDATES WELCOMED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial: "A Back Door Is Closed"]

[Text] President Zia has added a new article to the National and Provincial Ordinance (1977) according to which no candidates that have been defeated in the national and provincial elections will be allowed to take part in the elections for the Senate. In this way he has closed the back door from which these defeated politicians could enter politics once more. We have before us a long list of the names of the persons who, after being rejected by the people in the provincial and national elections, were trying to find some method of reentering politics. The list includes the names of Raja Sikadar Zaman, Raja Zafarul Haq, Mr Ali Ahmad Khan Talpur, Mr Ghulam Dastgir, Mr Dost Mohammad Faizi, Mr Bostan Ali Hoti, Mr Abdul Ghafoor Bhargari, ex-ministers Rao Farman Ali and Mr Mohammad Azam Farooqi. Besides these people, there are scores of other defeated politicians who had not only obtained entry forms for the candidacy for the Senate but had started canvassing for votes. Here are some of their names: Nawab Sadiq Hussain Quraishi, Khanum Gauhar Ejaz, Mufti Zafar Ali Naumani, Mr Mubinul Haq Siddiqi, Mr Mohammad Yusaf Quraishi and Taj Bakht, the Princess of Juna Garh.

The President's ordinance will not only decrease the number of candidates for the Senate, it will be a good democratic precedent for future elections. Surely those who have been rejected by the people as unfit to represent a particular constituency could not be fit to represent a whole province in the Senate. This is a short amendment, but it will have very far-reaching consequences. It has fulfilled a great need of the time.

We think it would be even better if this list of disqualified people could include a few more names. For example, the office holders of the defeated political parties should also be barred from taking part in the Senate elections. Again the members of the political parties that got no member elected in the last election should be disqualified for a seat in the Senate. Take the example of the Progressive People's Party, not a single candidate from which has been elected either in the National or the Provincial Assemblies. Now the leader of this party is preparing to compete for the Senate. The question is how can a member of a political party rejected in every province in the country qualify to represent any province?

Another point that has been overlooked is that, though the elections were nonparty, many political parties nominated their candidates to represent their political parties, Progressive People's Party, Muslim League (Pagara group) and Jamat-i-Islami, for instance. The Progressive Party was utterly routed. Jamat-i-Islami was defeated, too, and all it got was material for making political analyses. As for the Muslim League it does not disclose the exact number of its successful candidates. Pir Pagara claims that two-thirds of those who are successful are from his party, but he is probably counting all those who are like-minded to his party and those who do not belong to any party as candidates of his own party.

Another point to remember is that the duty of the Senate is to protect the interests of the different provinces. But it will include some experts, technicians and scholars. If along with these elements the question of political parties is raised it will only add to our problems. Why should the elections of the Senate be held on party basis when the general elections were nonparty? It is an intricate problem indeed, but it is essential to discourage the tendency to bring the political parties into the elections. All elections should be nonparty. The president's new amendment must have seemed like a bolt from the blue to some people. Many an ambitious individual must have been greatly disappointed. This amendment has closed the doors of politics on political turn-coats and opportunists.

12476

CSO: 4656/102

10 May 1985

PAKISTAN

PRESIDENT KEPT IN DARK ABOUT CENSORSHIP OF AMN

Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan in the column "From Jumma Khan's Pen"]

[Excerpt] Some time back Lt Gen Mujibur Rehman, federal minister of information and broadcasting, said in an interview with the BBC that in Pakistan there was no censorship of the press with the exception of one minor newspaper. Many days after this interview had been broadcast Raja Zafarul Haq, by then minister of information and broadcasting, stated that there was no censorship on the newspapers in Pakistan. When some journalists pointed out to him that there was censorship of AMN, he said that with the exception of AMN the press was free.

Last Thursday General Zia's speech was published in the newspapers in which he said that there was no censorship of the press and, if there was, he wanted to know the law on which this censorship was based. The fact is that out of the 1,200 newspapers published in Pakistan only AMN is under censorship. General Mujibur Rehman, too, had admitted the censorship on AMN and called it a minor newspaper. But the latest declaration by the president saying that there is no censorship of the press shows that he has been kept in the dark about the fact that AMN is censored and that no news or picture can appear in it without approval by the provincial department of information. AMN has to be censored before publication, and the printing process starts after the censor officer has signed the draft. As for General Zia's question about the law according to which the censorship has been imposed, only those who imposed the censorship can answer it. AMN has never been given a written order about censorship. Had such an order been issued we would have discovered the law under which it was given. Only a telephone message from the provincial department of information said that the draft of the AMN had to be censored before it went to press. Another telephone call to the publisher of the AMN came from the same department saying that this paper was not to be published unless its draft carried the signature of the censor officer. This non-written telephonic censorship continues to this day. The AMN is not even allowed to print what is printed in other (and in the eyes of the government, bigger) newspapers. Other newspapers often disobey the press advice which is not possible for AMN.

Raja Zafarul Haq has left the department of Information and Broadcasting after being defeated in the election of the National Assembly, and now the president has that portfolio. I have written these lines in order to inform the president about the true state of affairs in his department, so that in future whatever statement he makes about the press should be based on facts. My purpose is to put the record straight.

12476

CSO: 4656/102

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

POLITICAL PRISONERS FREED--Lahore, March 27: The Punjab Government has released following 22 detained persons: M/s. Abdul Rashid Qureshi Advocate; Javed Hafeez; Zafar Iqbal; Ramzan Bhatti; Lateef Ayaz; Hakeem Abdur Raheem; Mashkeen Hussain; Malik Muhammad Jahangir Ameer Alias Judge; Maulvi Sikandar Hashmi; Hafiz Wadood; Sh. Muhammad Rafiq; Jafar Hussain; Liaqat Hussain Waraich; advocate Wilayat Hussain Gardezi; and Ishtiaq Bokhari (All residents of Lahore): Shahid Mirza Moghal of Bahawalpur; Muhammad Hanif Dogar of Faisalabad; Haider Ali of Jhang; Muhammad Aslam Narro of Rahim Yar Khan and Rao Muhammad Abdullah of Rawalpindi. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 4]

POSTER AGAINST REFERENDUM--Lahore, March 27: A summary Military Court on Wednesday adjourned the hearing of case registered against five political workers for publishing a poster against the referendum on Dec 19. The accused, Mr Iftikhar Shahid, Secretary Information Qaumi Mehaz-i-Azadi, Mr Islam, Mr Munawar Husain Zaidi and Mr Bashir Ahmad were produced before the court, which extended their judicial remand till April 8. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 85 p 4]

END

CSO: 4600/376